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Mountaineers and Rangers

A History of Federal Forest Management in the Southern Appalachians 1900-81

United States
Department of
Agriculture

**Forest
Service**

Washington, D.C.

FS-380

Mountaineers and Rangers

A History of Federal Forest Management in the Southern Appalachians 1900-81

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Foreword

In 1978 the former Head of the Forest Service's History Section, David A. Clary, conceived the idea of doing a history of the impact of Federal natural resource management on the peoples of the Southern Appalachians. The contract was awarded July 25 that year under competitive bidding to Maximus, Inc., in McLean, Va.

We believe this study to be an important addition to the literature on the Forest Service and the Southern Appalachians. It is only the second scholarly publication to take a regional approach to Forest Service history, and it is the first to explicitly examine how Forest Service programs have affected local populations. We hope that it will stimulate other individuals, both in and outside the Forest Service, to write similarly significant histories.

Photographs and maps, mostly from official Forest Service sources, have been included to illustrate points covered in the text. Readers may order those from the National Archives collection by number from the Still Pictures Branch, Audiovisual Archives Division, National Archives, General Services Administration (GSA), Washington, DC 20408. Ask for GSA From 6797 with the latest valid price list; prices change each year on October 1. An advance payment made out to the Cashier, National Archives, GSA, must accompany each order. Requests for prints of photographs still held by the Forest Service, other photos, and for map photos should be sent to the History Section, Forest Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, P.O. Box 2417, Washington, DC 20013; notification of the appropriate charge will be made, and the advance payment made out to Forest Service, USDA, must then be sent to us.

The source of each print is given in the description beneath each photograph, where it appears in the text. The designation "NA:95G" means it is an official Forest Service photograph, and the negative is held in the National Archives collection; the number following is the number of that photo. The designation "Forest Service photo" means the negative with the number following is still retained by the Forest Service in Washington, DC.

Sources of data for this study, including tables, are fully provided in the reference notes following each chapter and in the 11 lists in the Bibliography. The authors wish to thank personnel of the National Archives, Washington, DC; the Washington National Records Center, Suitland, Md.; the Lands and the Recreation Staffs of the Forest Service in Washington, DC, and Atlanta, Ga.; the various National Forests in the Appalachians; the Southeast Regional Office and the Supervisor of Great Smoky Mountains National Park, National Park Service; and the Appalachian Regional Commission, as well as the many other persons interviewed personally and by telephone, for their cooperation and special assistance which added greatly to the completeness of this report.

Dennis M. Roth, Head
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A Summary

Tracing the history of the impact of Federal land acquisition and land management on the peoples of the Southern Appalachians has not been a simple or direct exercise. The task was difficult, largely because the people most affected have been almost silent. Reflecting the inexpressiveness of their culture, they have rarely written their reactions.[1] Indeed, as Ronald Eller affirms, "no satisfactory history of the [Southern Appalachian] region has ever been written."[2] Perhaps the best work on the Southern mountaineer, John C. Campbell's 1921 classic *The Southern Highlander and His Homeland* is not by a native; he was educated in the Northeast and came from Indiana to observe and educate the mountaineer. In spite of its thoroughness and sensitivity, the book conveys an outsider's perspective. Similarly, the foregoing narrative of Federal land activity is told mainly through the remarks and writings of the Federal agents who came to the Southern Appalachians to purchase and manage the land, or by other outside analysts and observers, plus supporting data. The reactions of the mountaineer to massive Federal landowership and changing land uses have necessarily been largely inferred.

Federal land acquisition in the Southern Appalachians began shortly after the Weeks Act, authorizing the purchase of forest land by the Federal Government from other owners for the establishment of National Forests, was passed by Congress in March 1911. The Weeks Act represented an extension of Federal land management policies. In the western United States, nearly all National Forests had been reserved from the public domain, the lands held by the Federal Government for disposal under the land laws. In the East, however, there was little remaining public domain by the time of the 1891 act. All but a few have been created by Federal purchase of lands that had been held for generations in private ownership. Between 1911 and 1982, over 23 million acres were so acquired for National Forests east of the 100th meridian. Almost 4 million of these acres were in the Southern Appalachian mountains.[3]

First Reserves in the East

In response to appeals by leading local conservationists, the Southern Appalachians, stretching from southwestern Virginia to northern Georgia, and the White Mountains of New Hampshire were the first areas in the East to be identified by the Federal Government, and the affected State governments, as needing protection from destructive lumbering. Thus the two areas became the first to have large tracts converted to National Forests. Federal land agents—geologists, foresters, surveyors, and appraisers—were sent to the Southern Appalachians to carry out this mandate. They were impressed by the physical beauty and abundant resources of the region.[4]

Under the authority of Congress to regulate interstate commerce, the Weeks Act justified Federal purchase of forest lands for one stated objective: to protect lands on the headwaters of navigable streams from deforestation, fire, and erosion, so that streamflow could be protected. Behind this legislative rationale, however, was a complex history of land management controversies that accompanied the birth of forestry in America. Gifford Pinchot, who, before he became Chief of the Forest Service, had fathered America's first experiment in practical, conservative forestry at Biltmore, near Asheville, N.C., was an instrumental advocate of Federal land acquisition in the Southern mountains. The movement for a National Park in the Southern Appalachian Great Smoky Mountains, which had developed during the 1890's and grew into a broad movement for forest reserves in the East, provided further momentum for the establishment of National Forests in the region. The Weeks Act implied that Federal ownership was the best—perhaps the only—way to restore the cutover and burned Southern Appalachian slopes and to preserve the mountain region for future generations to enjoy and use.

By the time Federal land agents arrived in the Southern Appalachians, the region had already been discovered by outside investors, timber and coal barons, missionaries, local-color writers, and scientists, and had been defined as being unique and distinct from the rest of the United States. Exploitation of its natural resources, especially coal and timber, was well along. In 1900, the area was characterized by an economy of self-sufficient small farms settled in the mountain river bottoms and hollows, isolated from each other by steep, parallel ridges. The culture of the region appeared strange to outsiders: sometimes quaint, sometimes frightening. It was strongly Scotch-Irish in ethnic background, and reminiscent of pioneer America. The absence of large towns, the lack of formal schooling, the homogeneous population, the widespread distillation of corn liquor, the fierce independence, and the apparent lawlessness that prevailed were a few indicators of the region's "otherness."[5] Furthermore, the mountaineer seemed oblivious to the riches amidst which he had settled: coal and timber, both in high demand by the industrializing cities of the North.

Rail Opens Area to Industry

After 1880, with extensive railroad construction, the Southern Appalachian region began to change in fundamental and enduring ways, as absentee landownership became the single most important facet of the region's political economy. Investors from Europe and the Northeast purchased vast tracts of Southern Appalachian land, for its coal, its timber, or simply for the increasing value of the land itself. Often when they could not buy the land, they bought rights to the resources beneath or upon it. In certain portions of the Southern mountains—for example, the hardwood-rich Great Smokies and coal-rich slopes of eastern Kentucky—absentee landowners came to control the vast majority of the exploitable resources. Many mountaineers were displaced, moving into small towns within and adjacent to the region; some remained on the land as tenants or squatters. The self-sufficient farming economy and mountain culture were altered, as industrialization and small-scale urbanization became increasing features of the landscape.[6] Furthermore, once the land was acquired by outsiders, the mountaineer essentially lost it for good. Much of the land was eventually transferred to the Federal Government, and the Southern Appalachian farmer did not—indeed, could not—buy it back.

National Forests Are Assembled

As Shands and Healy have written, "the national forests of the East, in the main, were assembled from land that nobody wanted."[7] From the beginning, the Government purchased only from willing sellers, who either volunteered their land for sale or, approached by Government agents, were able to reach agreeable settlements with the Forest Service. In the early years, most of the acreage acquired in the Southern Appalachians was from large timber and landholding companies, such as Gennett, Ritter, Little River, and Champion, which found a ready market for their culled, cutover, or inaccessible tracts, and transferred their absentee ownership to the Federal Government. Some of the largest and most finely timbered acreage was acquired first; for example, in Tennessee, North Carolina, and Georgia, nearly 30 percent of the acreage so obtained was virgin timber.[8] Hundreds of small landholders of the region sold willingly as well, in plots of from 5 acres to nearly 1,000 acres, and a patchwork pattern of Federal and private landownership began to emerge within the gross National Forest boundaries. The first eastern National Forest, the Pisgah, was established in 1916 in North Carolina. By 1920, five more Southern Appalachian forests had been proclaimed.

The impact of these federally managed units was negligible at first; land owned mostly by absentee corporations had simply been transferred to another absentee owner, and little changed. Gradually, however, the process of Federal land acquisition accelerated the decline of the farming economy that had begun in the late 19th century. As more and more family farms were abandoned to National Forests status, the acreage that could potentially be settled or developed by private interests dwindled. The population growth of the mountain counties slowed. The irreversible interruption of previous settlement patterns had begun, and in Henry Shapiro's words, the notion of the southern mountains as "essentially uninhabitable" was "institutionalized."[9]

Fight Against Burning Is Slow

The arrival of Forest Service land managers was accompanied by the agency's campaign against burning the woods. The traditional folk practice of using fire—to clear brush, vines, and weeds, and to destroy insects, vermin, and snakes before spring planting and after harvest—was in clear conflict with this policy. Rangers assigned to the mountains in the early years considered their most difficult management task to be changing this native habit. The acculturation process was slow, never entirely successful. Although seasonal burning declined considerably, deliberate fires became a recurring symbol of resentment and protest. In the fall of 1980, nearly 50 years after the National Forest was established, fires spreading over 100,000 acres of the Daniel Boone were attributed to arsonists "seeking revenge on the government."[10]

Although large-scale Federal land acquisition helped to accelerate outmigration from the mountain recesses to nearby towns and cities, National Forests provided some employment for those who remained. Timber sales favored small lumber mill operators, who were sustained, although marginally, on National Forest timber. The Forest Service fire warden system relied on a team of local men who reported, and helped combat, forest fires in each ranger district. Ranger assistants, lookouts, and work crews were also recruited locally.

The number of local men so employed was not large at first, but increased significantly during the Depression years through the Civilian Conservation Corps. (In 1937, the peak year of the CCC, almost 9,000 young men were enrolled in Southern Appalachian National Forest CCC camps, the majority of them from the region.)[11] Many local experienced men were hired to help train them. Thus, the CCC helped to integrate the people of the small mountain towns with the goals and value system of Forest Service personnel. In addition, it accomplished much for the forests, in the way of reforestation, erosion control, and the construction of trails, campgrounds, fire roads, and fire towers.

The active participation of the Federal Government in the lives of the southern mountaineers came on a scale much larger than ever before with the New Deal of the 1930's. During Franklin D. Roosevelt's first administration, Federal funds were provided to relocate families on submarginal farms, and appropriations were enormously expanded for Federal land acquisition. The National Forests of the region were enlarged and consolidated through the addition of hundreds of small tracts. Impoverished family farms were purchased, often for as little as $3 per acre. During the Depression, such prices were standard, and acceptance of a Federal bailout, commonplace. However, 30 and 40 years later, when land prices had increased tenfold, even a hundredfold, the second-generation mountaineer expressed bitterness at the pittance paid.[12]

Two Parks Require Condemnation

During the Depression, two major Federal parks were established in the region: the Great Smoky Mountains National Park and the Blue Ridge Parkway. Each, promised by promoters as a sure tourist attraction, was generally locally supported and well received. However, because the acquisition of all land within certain prescribed park boundaries was required, the power of condemnation to obtain needed parcels from those unwilling to sell was exercised for the first time in the southern mountains. Although some timber companies and many small landholders were willing to sell, many were not. Litigation over land values, such as that over the nearly 93,000-acre Champion Fibre Co. tract, was time-consuming and costly.[13] Although land prices paid for the Appalachian

National Parks were often higher than comparable land in the National Forests, the use of the power of eminent domain to create the parks resulted in great misunderstanding and bitterness, which continued for generations. The same can be said of the land acquisition by the Tennessee Valley Authority to construct dams and reservoirs on the mountain tributaries of the Tennessee River.

World War II brought a temporary economic boom to the Southern Appalachians, as had World War I. The coal and timber reserves were again in demand; however, the slump that followed the war accelerated regional outmigration and increased the region's dependency. The Southern Appalachians lost population to urban areas of the Piedmont and North, and experienced a marked drop both in the number of farms and farm acreage. Most land in the region's core remained under Federal or absentee corporate control; farms were generally poor, and employment opportunities were few and unvaried. Low income, poor health, and inadequate schooling and housing were typical, and were particularly acute in the coal counties of eastern Kentucky, eastern Tennessee, and far southwestern Virginia.

Three Periods of Federal Activity

Federal involvement in the financial welfare of the Southern Appalachian region has come in three distinct phases: the earliest, between 1911 and 1920, when the first National Forests were established; the second, during the New Deal of the 1930's, and most recently, during the 1960's, when Appalachia was again rediscovered and millions of Federal dollars spent for development. With the presidency of Lyndon B. Johnson, programs such as Job Corps, Volunteers in Service To America (VISTA), and the Work Experiences and Training Program—flourished briefly, bringing temporary employment, training, and education to the region. Some Job Corps camps are still there. The Appalachian Regional Commission, created in 1965, was responsible for distributing billions of Federal dollars for regional development. Later came the Youth Conservation Corps and the Young Adult Conservation Corps. In 1980, after the expenditure of nearly $50 million in the core counties of the Southern Appalachians—for highway construction, vocational education, and health facilities—the lasting effect on the region's economy was still unclear. Although outmigration from the area had clearly slowed between 1965 and 1980, the standard indicators of income, education, and health showed little, if any, improvement relative to those for the Nation as a whole.[14]

Also related to Federal efforts to revitalize the region was the establishment of the Redbird Purchase Unit, an extension of the Daniel Boone National Forest, in eastern Kentucky. Like much of the acreage acquired for the first Southern Appalachian forests, the land in the Redbird was depleted, and its forests heavily culled. Its inhabitants were among Appalachia's most destitute. However, most of the Redbird tracts were acquired from the coal and timber companies that had held the bulk of the land. Thus, as a local relief measure, the purchase unit was of dubious immediate benefit.

Recreation Becomes Major Force

During the 1960's, the Southern Appalachians became a major focus for the recreational development legislation of the decade. A national sense of urgency about preserving open space was expressed through several Congressional actions that directly affected the region. The Land and Water Conservation Fund, administered by the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation, was established for purchasing Federal recreational lands and providing grants to the States for recreational development. Through the Fund, nearly $45 million were appropriated between 1965 and 1980 for National Forest land acquisition.[15] The Fund was the chief source of land purchase money for the Appalachian Trail, Wild and Scenic Rivers, National Recreational Areas, and forest wilderness areas. The urgency of the perceived need for these special recreational reserves forced a change in policy. For the first time, condemnation was used to acquire desired land that owners refused to sell. After 1965, single-purpose (recreational) needs were increasingly cited to justify condemnation, which the Forest Service had previously felt was not necessary to accomplish multiple-use objectives.

The new emphasis on recreation in the southern mountains helped to foster another Appalachian land investment boom. Vacationers, retirees, developers, and speculators began to buy many of the mountain acres still in local hands. With greater absentee landownership came an inflation of land values, and many mountaineers were no longer able to afford the family farm, or to consider buying a new one. Increasing numbers of tourists were drawn to the region, but the spurt of growth in the regional recreation industry was temporary, and the economic benefits of tourism that were often promised by developers and politicians were not widely realized. Nevertheless, the recreation attractions helped to slow, and often reverse, the trend of outmigration that had characterized the region for decades.

For the Southern Appalachian mountaineer, the 1970's were a time of uneasy adjustment to further change. People from outside the region were arriving in greater numbers, bringing a value system and attitude toward the land that were often alien to those of the mountaineers. The Forest Service was insistent as never before on acquiring selected lands. As property values soared, the amount of money returned to the counties from National Forest proceeds seemed paltry, considering the often large percentage of Federal acreage involved. The more development that occurred, the more its potential seemed restricted by Government landownership. L.E. Perry, of McCreary County, expressed a bitter attitude more extreme than most: "there is little room for expansion . . . [The Forest Service], by its very nature . . . [is] a bureaucracy with a miserly grip on a large part of the land area."[16]

Natives Resist More Wilderness

Wilderness areas were added to the National Forests of the East in 1975. In 1977, when the Forest Service asked the public's reaction to established new wilderness areas in the Southern Appalachian forests, the response was often vehemently negative. Many oldtime mountaineers felt betrayed. The relationship they had maintained with the Forest Service for decades had been based on their trust of individual rangers, gained through experience, and the sense that the Forest Service was sympathetic to their economic and social needs.[17] But for an often patronizing attitude and an unrelenting prohibition of fire, Federal foresters had allowed the mountaineer to use the woods essentially as he always had —to hunt, fish, and gather forest products—and had provided him employment if it was feasible. Wilderness designation, however, precluded lumbering and roads, and thus restricted most traditional forest uses. The mountaineer reacted strongly against it. As had happened only a few years before when condemnation was used to acquire recreational lands, the Southern Appalachian people organized to express themselves: specifically, to protest formally the designation of certain remote forest lands to be roadless areas.

They were not alone in registering protest to Federal land acquisition and management policies. The Carter Administration's large additions to roadless areas for wilderness consideration (RARE II) inspired widespread national reaction. Then, by 1980, continued Government acquisition of private land was being strongly challenged by citizens groups and legislators. A December 1979 report by Congress' General Accounting Office, investigating Federal land acquisition policies, contended that the Government had often acquired lands that were not really needed, but had been obtained simply because funds had been available.[18] Need, of course, is a relative and subjective term. From the Forest Service perspective, nearly all lands within the boundaries of a National Forest could be considered suitable or desirable; and if funds were available and sellers willing, lands had been acquired. The GAO report recommended that alternatives to acquisition be explored, and that potential land purchases be more carefully evaluated in terms of demonstrable Federal need. Actually, the Forest Service had been acquiring considerable land by exchange for more than 55 years.

Between 1900 and 1975, the Southern Appalachian people lost control of much of their land to "those who . . . were more powerful or more shrewd or more wealthy."[19] The steepest, most remote, and heavily forested mountain slopes were early acquired by timber and coal companies; subsequently much of this land—and thousands of acres more—were sold to the Federal Government for restoration and preservation. From the end of the 19th century until 1980, the region has effectively been a colony within the American economic system.[20] As land acquisition proceeded, the mountain people moved from the innermost parts of the region to urban areas on the fringe. Farming virtually died out as a viable means of gainful employment, but the manufacturing that moved into the area was itself often marginal, most of it controlled by large, nonlocal corporations. Although, over the decades, with the spread of television and the construction of the interstate highway system, the Southern Appalachian mountaineer gradually has been drawn into the social and cultural framework of 20th century urban-industrial America, in certain fundamental ways the Southern Appalachian region has remained the same.[21] The population of the region's core doubled from about 1.1 million in 1900 to nearly 2.2 million in 1975, but the population of the Nation as a whole tripled over the same period.[22] In spite of recent trends in inmigration, the region has remained sparsely populated and nonmetropolitan. It has also remained poor.

Federal Impacts Hard to Assess

Because the southern mountain region changed in various ways from many causes during the 20th century, it has often been difficult to isolate impacts specifically attributable to Federal landownership. The GAO report just cited identified several results of Federal land purchases, notably the escalation of prices of adjacent land, the erosion of local tax bases, the stifling of economic activity, and the preclusion of farming.[23] All of these have been identified and discussed as they pertain to Southern Appalachian history. Yet an assessment of the Federal impact on the region is more complex—because there have been beneficial effects as well, and because the Federal Government is by no means the only absentee landholder. Indeed, the impacts of Federal land acquisition and management must fairly be related to those of other types of absentee ownership. As this report has shown, many of the negative effects of absentee land control—such as outmigration, low income, and restricted employment—have been considerably more pronounced in the coal counties of the Southern Appalachians than in the mountain counties that are largely National Forest.

With a perspective on national forestry goals and priorities, the Forest Service has sometimes placed local needs and concerns second. Often what was perceived to be best for the Nation has been harmful to local needs, goals, and values. As the 1979 GAO report stated:

> Conflicts between Federal land managers and local landowners are probably unavoidable. The Federal land manager is directed to manage lands in the national interest for specified purposes. Local interests, on the other hand, want to use the land in ways that maximize local benefits. The extent of the conflict depends on local perceptions and expectations of economic gain or loss from the presence of a national area.[24]

Often, as illustrated by the case of Mount Rogers and the RARE II phenomenon, it has been a matter of mis- or non-communication that has fired the conflict. Only since the mid-1960's through its Inform and Involve Program, have the Forest Service and the local people formally exchanged perspectives on policies of land management in advance of actions.

Finally, one has to speculate what would have happened to the region had the Federal Government not created Natonal Forests there. Relative to the coal companies, land companies, and other self-interested developers, who still control large tracts of the region's land, the Federal Government has generally been less damaging both to the people and the environment. Even a group which often felt adversely affected by the decisions of Federal land managers has given them a a large meausre of praise. The Citizens for Southwest Virginia, one of the most outspoken citizens groups in the region, has placed the contribution of Federal land acquisition and management in perspective, as follows:

> There was a time when it appeared that Mt. Rogers would suffer the fate experienced by much of the rest of the land in the southern mountains. In the early part of this century, timbering operations devastated the region's forests and left the land in a state which, according to one local resident, "looked like the surface of the moon." The Forest Service was instrumental in reviving the land and bringing it back, if not to its original state, at least to a state where it was once again a valuable and productive resource. The early work of the Forest Service in the Mt. Rogers area (and in the eastern forests generally) is an example of one of the few government programs that has been an almost unqualified success. More than any other institution, perhaps, the Forest Service deserves credit for the survival of the region as an area of recreational and conservation potential.[25]

Reference Notes

1. See, for example, Norman A. Polansky, Robert D. Borgman, and Christine DeSaix, *Roots of Futility* (San Francisco: Jossey Bass, Inc., 1972), pp. 76-80. "Verbal inaccessibility" and inexpressiveness are identified as distinctive elements of the Appalachian subculture.

2. Ronald D. Eller, "Toward A New History of The Appalachian South," *Appalachian Journal* 5 (Autumn 1977): 75.

3. William E. Shands and Robert G. Healy, *The Lands Nobody Wanted* (Washington: The Conservation Foundation, 1977) p. 3.

4. See especially *Message From the President of the United States, Transmitting a Report of the Secretary of Agriculture in Relation to the Forests, Rivers, and Mountains of the Southern Appalachian Region* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1902).

5. Shapiro, *Appalachia On Our Mind*, is the classic work on the history of outsiders' perceptions of Appalachia and the development of the mountaineer stereotype.

6. Ronald D. Eller, "Miners, Millhands, and Mountaineers: The Modernization of the Appalachian South, 1880-1930," Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1979.

7. Shands and Healy, *The Lands Nobody Wanted,* p. 1.

8. *The National Forests and Purchase Units of Region Eight,* USDA, Forest Service, Region 8, manuscript, Atlanta, Ga., January 1, 1955, p. 3.

9. Shapiro, *Appalachia On Our Mind,* p. 187.

10. "Arsonists Blamed for Fires In Appalachian Parklands," *Washington Post,* November 16, 1980.

11. National Archives, Record Group 35, CCC Station and Strength Reports, 1933-42.

12. See, for example, Eliot Wigginton, "Introduction," *Foxfire 5* (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Press, 1979), p. 12.

13. Carlos C. Campbell, *Birth of a National Park in the Great Smoky Mountains* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1969), pp. 80-95.

14. *Appalachia—A Reference Book*; See also, Comptroller General, *Report to the Congress, Should the Appalachian Regional Commission Be Used as a Model For the Nation?*

15. Data from Heritage, Conservation, and Recreation Service, USDI.

16. Perry, *McCreary Conquest,* p. 224.

17. Jack E. Weller, in *Yesterday's People, Life in Contemporary Appalachia* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1965), wrote of the mountaineer, "He conceives of government processes in terms of personal relationships, much like those in his reference group. He sees the actions of government not in terms of general order or of law but in terms of the personal whims of each official. Thus, government agencies are closely identified with the persons who run them."

18. Comptroller General of the United States, *Report to the Congress: The Federal Drive to Acquire Private Lands Should Be Reassessed* (U.S. Government General Accounting Office, Washington, D.C., December 14, 1979), p. 9.

19. Wigginton, *Foxfire 5.* p. 12.

20. See Helen Matthews Lewis, Linda Johnson, and Donald Askins, eds., *Colonialism in Modern America: The Appalachian Case* (Boone, N.C.: The Appalachian Consortium Press, 1978; and Edgar Bingham, "Appalachia: Underdeveloped, Overdeveloped, or Wrongly Developed?", *The Virginia Geographer* VII (Winter 1972): 9-12.

21. See "The Passing of Provincialism," in Thomas R. Ford, ed., *The Southern Appalachian Region: A Survey* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1962); John B. Stephenson, *Shiloh: A Mountain Community* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1968); and Harry K. Schwartzweller, James S. Brown, and J. J. Mangalam, *Mountain Families in Transition* (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1978), Chapter 11.

22. Population changes from 1900-1975 computed for 80 core counties of the region. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Twelfth Census of the United States* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1902); Bureau of the Census, *County and City Data Book 1977* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1978).

23. Comptroller General, *The Federal Drive To Acquire Private Lands Should Be Reassessed*, p. 9.

24. *The Federal Drive,* p. 11.

25. Citizens for Southwest Virginia, Troutdale, *Response,* 1978, p. 22.

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Introduction

At the end of the 19th century, when much of America was experiencing strong urban-industrial growth, the Southern Appalachian region of eastern Kentucky, eastern Tennessee, southwestern Virginia, western North Carolina, and northern Georgia was sparsely populated, nonindustrial, and very largely rural. After the mid-18th century the mountains had been settled by westward-moving pioneers in a pattern of widely scattered clusters of small farmsteads — first along the wider river bottoms, and later into the coves and up the ridges. Towns were few, small, widely separated, and connected only by narrow, rutted dirt roads. Most mountaineers lived self-sufficiently, growing corn and raising hogs, isolated from each other and the outside world by the region's many parallel ridges.

Until 1880 the rich resources had been barely touched. Steep mountainsides were covered with unusually heavy and varied hardwood forests and underlain with thick seams of coal and other minerals. Water rushed abundantly down and through the mountains on its way west to the Tennessee and Ohio Rivers, east to the Atlantic Ocean, and south to the Gulf of Mexico. Then, however, railroads penetrated the mountains, and with them came tourists, journalists, missionaries, scientists, investors, businessmen, and industrialists who found a society and economy at once pristine and primitive. By 1900 these outsiders had described and publicized the region, purchased much of the land, and were beginning to extract its resources; they had also tried to educate, reform and transform the southern mountaineers.

In 1911 the Federal Government came to the Southern Appalachians to purchase and manage vast tracts of mountain land as National Forests. The Weeks Act, passed in March of that year, authorized the Federal purchase of "forested, cut-over or denuded" lands on the headwaters of and vital to the flow of navigable streams. Land acquisition under the Weeks Act focused at first principally on forests of the southern mountains. Several thousand acres were acquired within a few years. In June 1924 this Act was amended and broadened by the Clarke-McNary Act to allow purchase of timber lands unrelated to navigable streams.[1] The creation of these National Forests helped to define Appalachia as a discrete region.

In the 70 years since 1911, the Federal Government has acquired over 4 million acres of land in the Southern Appalachians, principally for National Forests supervised by the Forest Service of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, by far the largest single land manager in the region. Federal lands are managed for a variety of public purposes that often differ from profit-oriented private land management practices. Therefore, the effects of this massive series of purchases on the people of the region have been considerable, though subtle and gradual for the most part during the first 50 years.

Since 1960, changes in the region have accelerated, and although mountain residents are still largely wary spectators and often victims of events, they are no longer silent; their response has quickened and sharpened. They have learned to join together to at least modify some of the changes being imposed by modern society.

Boundaries of the Region

As it is for any cultural region, defining the boundaries precisely is arbitrary and subjective. The region encompasses the southern half of the great multiple Appalachian Mountain chain that runs from Alabama to Maine, but its exact boundaries have varied according to the differing purposes of various studies. Often considered besides terrain are political boundaries and socioeconomic and cultural factors.

Three definitions have gained prominence.[2] John Campbell, in his 1921 classic, *The Southern Highlander and His Homeland,* included all of West Virginia, the western highlands of Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, easternmost Kentucky and Tennessee, northernmost Georgia, and northeastern Alabama: 256 counties in 9 States. His principal criterion was physiography.[3]

In 1960 Thomas R. Ford, in *The Southern Appalachian Region,* outlined an area of 189 counties, 25 percent smaller area than Campbell's. Ford excluded westernmost Maryland, South Carolina, and West Virginia, and included less of Virginia, Alabama, and Tennessee. He based his region on "State Economic Areas", a concept developed in 1950 by the U.S. Bureau of the Census and the U.S. Department of Agriculture in order to group counties with similiar economic bases.[4]

The Appalachian Regional Commission has provided a more recent definition. This 169-county "Southern Appalachia" stretched down to include a corner of Mississippi and almost half of Alabama, but excluded West Virginia and eastern Kentucky, putting both in a new category, "Central Appalachia". The principal criterion is weak or lagging economic development.[5]

All three definitions include a mountainous "core": far southwestern Virginia, far western North Carolina, easternmost Tennessee, and northernmost Georgia. These sections, although the most rugged and least accessible, are not all the weakest economically.

There is some doubt whether any of the above three broad regions, or even the "core", constitute a true cultural region. Geographer Wilbur Zelinsky says two features identify a cultural region: (1) how its distinctiveness is manifested (physically and behaviorally), and (2) how its people consciously behave.[6] Scholars generally have treated the Southern Appalachians as a cohesive cultural entity. Although Campbell and Ford acknowledged that the region was not culturally homogeneous, both emphasized its distinctiveness. However, others have insisted that the region is too culturally diverse to be regarded as a unit and that it is not a functional social and economic area.[7] Indeed, some have questioned whether its people show a genuine regional selfconsciousness or whether the region's cultural distinctiveness is not simply a reaction to outside forces.[8]

This study covers counties with large Federal land purchases, including the crest of the Blue Ridge Mountains where the Blue Ridge Parkway was built, as well as the Great Smoky Mountains of Tennessee and North Carolina that are now largely enclosed in the National Park of that name, and part of the Cumberland Plateau in Kentucky. The major focus is on the counties of Kentucky, Tennessee, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia that respectively contain the Daniel Boone, Cherokee, Pisgah, Nantahala, Chattahoochee and part of the Sumter National Forests, as well as the southwesternmost counties of Virginia below the New River divide that contain part of the Jefferson National Forest. Thus, this study area encompasses the core of the Southern Appalachians that all previous definitions of the region share.[9]

Nearly all of the National Forests in the eastern half of the United States stem from the 1911 Weeks Act, as amended by the 1924 Clarke-McNary Act. The justification for such purchases was at first to control erosion and streamflow through the rehabilitation, maintenance and improvement of forests.[10] In the Southern Appalachians, lands at stream headwaters were naturally the steepest, most remote, and least inhabited. In 70 years, the Federal Government has purchased over 4 million acres of land there, most of it for National Forests.[11] These purchases have been largely concentrated in the region's core and in the separate Cumberland Highlands belt of Kentucky. Today several "core" counties are more than 50 percent federally owned.[12]

Purpose of This Study

Assessing the impact of Federal land acquisition and land management on the peoples and cultures of the Southern Appalachian region is the purpose of this study. Even before the lands in question were purchased, they were special in several ways. Besides being generally the most mountainous and least accessible, they were often the least populous and most scenic in the region. Thus, even without purchase and management by the Federal Government, they might have developed differently from adjacent lands that were not purchased. It is unlikely, for example, that they would ever have supported a large population. Nevertheless, the very act of Federal purchase and the introduction of new land management techniques to the region changed its demographic, economic, and social structure. Indeed, the large Federal presence has certainly helped to shape the region's distinctive culture.

Physical Geography of the Region

The Southern Appalachian mountains, a broad band of worn-down parallel ridges of sedimentary rocks, are among the oldest in the world. They were formed several hundred million years ago in an "accordion" effect of the movement of very deep continental plates and accompanying upheavals of the earth's surface.[13] They comprise three geologic subregions: the Blue Ridge Mountains, the Valley and Ridge section, and the Appalachian Plateau.[14]

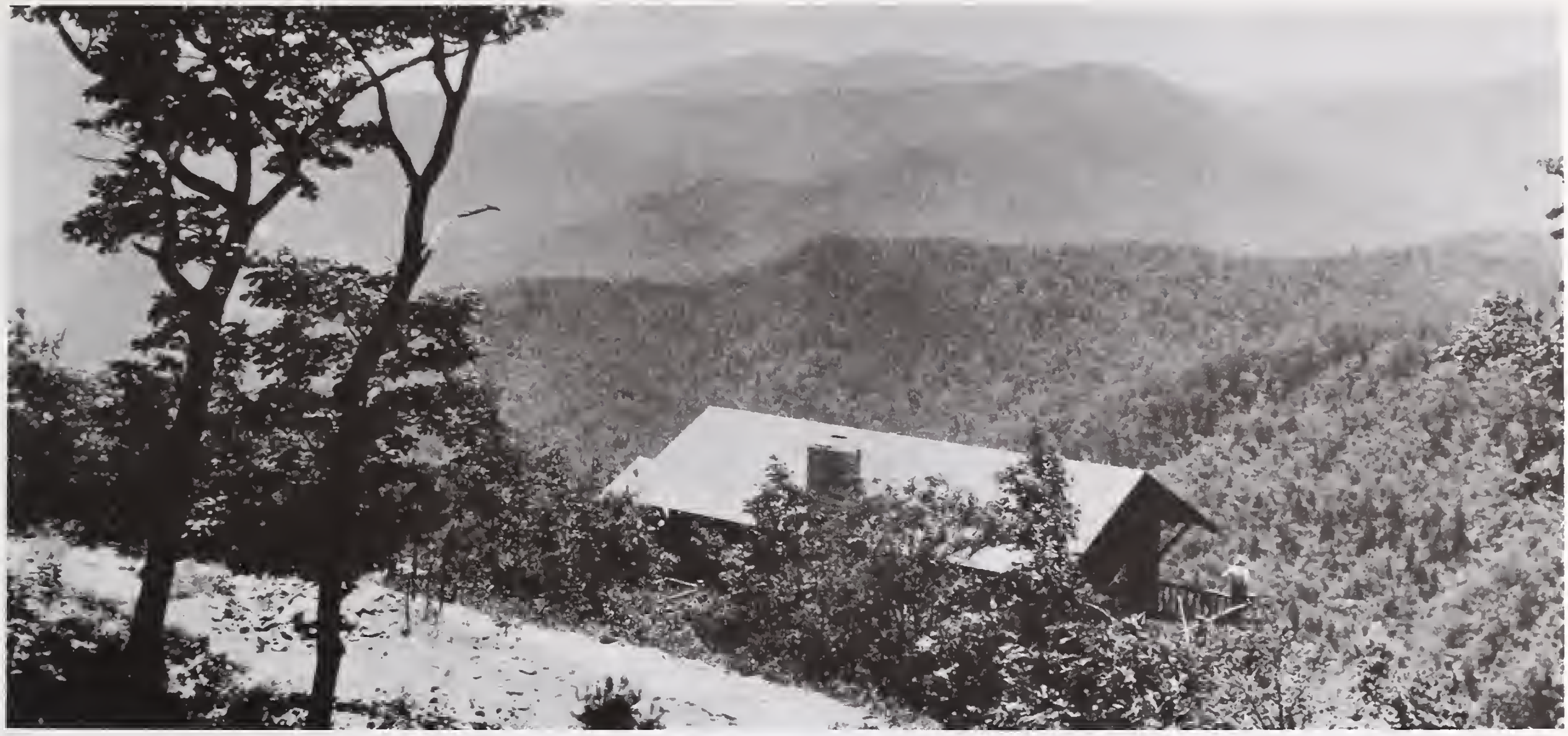
The Blue Ridge Mountains, rising sharply from the Piedmont to form the eastern subregion, are the oldest and were the deepest layers of rocks, and so were greatly changed by heat and pressure (metamorphosed). From 5 to almost 75 miles wide, the Blue Ridge area is in some places a single ridge of mountains and in others a complex of ridges. It includes the Blue Ridge Mountains of Virginia and North Carolina; the Iron, Black, Unaka, Nantahala, and Great Smoky Mountains of North Carolina; and the Cohutta Mountains of northern Georgia. The highest peak in the eastern United States, Mount Mitchell, 6,684 feet (2,037.3 meters) in elevation, lies within the Black Mountains and is a State Park.[15]

The Valley and Ridge subregion is a band of nearly parallel, "remarkably even-crested" ridges and river valleys; from the air it looks almost like corrugated cardboard.[16] This subregion stretches from northern Georgia northeastward slightly west of the North Carolina-Tennessee border, into southwestern Virginia and eastern Kentucky. It includes the Greater Appalachian Valley, actually a series of broad river valleys that run in broken stretches from the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia south to the valley of the Tennessee River and its tributaries. These valleys were the major avenues of immigrant travel diagonally through the mountains into the region from the mid-Atlantic States and Carolina Piedmont.

The Appalachian Plateau, a broad, uplifted area in eastern Kentucky and Tennessee, forms the westernmost subregion of the Southern Appalachians. The plateau has been so severely dissected over millenia by running streams that it appears almost mountainous, although its elevations are not nearly as high nor its slopes as steep as those of the Blue Ridge to the east. Known as the Cumberland Plateau in Tennessee and Kentucky (and as the Allegheny Plateau in West Virginia) the subregion is marked on the west by an escarpment which drops down to a gently rolling piedmont.[17]

The long-stretching parallel ranges and ridges of the Southern Appalachians formed a strong barrier to westward pioneer travel. There are only a few passes: water gaps where rivers now cut across the ridges, such as the New River gap; or wind gaps, such as Cumberland Gap, where ancient, now diverted streams once cut. No river flows directly or all the way through the region covered by this study. However, the very old New River, together with the Kanawha, does flow clear across almost the entire width of the Southern Appalachians, and is the only river system to do so, just north of the study area.

Geographers have noted the "odd behavior" of rivers in the Southern Appalachians. The main rivers begin as many mountain streams that drain, first in trellis patterns and then at right angles, across the ridges to the west. In contrast, the rivers north of Roanoke, Va., drain to the east.[18] Only the Chattooga and Tallulah Rivers of northern Georgia, and the Yadkin, Pee Dee, and Catawba Rivers of North Carolina, originate in the mountains and drain to the Atlantic; the remainder flow west or southwest. The Clinch, Powell, Holston, Watauga, Nolichucky, Tellico, Little Tennessee, Pigeon, Nantahala, French Broad, Hiwassee and Toccoa-Ocoee



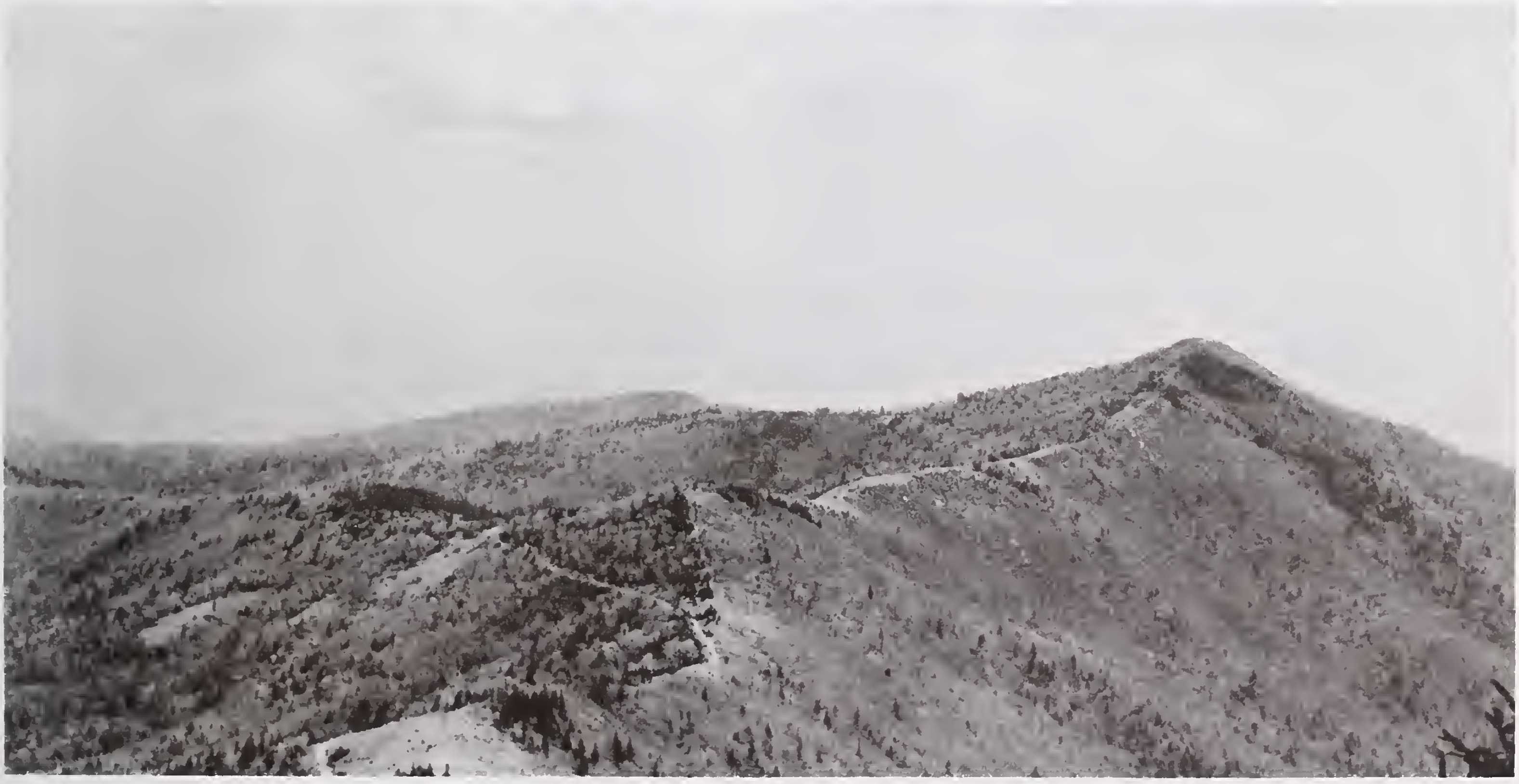


Figure 1.—Forested ridges and slopes of Black Mountains, a section of the Blue Ridge near Mt. Mitchell, N.C., highest point in the East, on Pisgah National Forest. When photo was taken in March 1930 a new summer home had just been built under special use permit, in foregound. (Forest Service photo in National Archives, Record Group 95G-238076)

Figure 2.—Sparse spruce-fir growth on 5,700-foot ridge of Black Mountains, Pisgah National Forest, N.C., looking toward Pinnacle Peak, with Swannona Gap in foreground and Asheville reservoir watershed at right. (NA:95G-254616)

Figure 3.—Cascades near headwaters of Catawba River between Old Fort, N.C., and Black Mountain, east of Asheville, Pisgah National Forest; photo taken in June 1923. (NA:95G-176371)

Rivers all flow into the Tennessee River, which passes by Chattanooga and the northwestern corner of Georgia into Alabama before turning northward to join the Ohio River in Kentucky. The New River, actually the oldest in the region, joins the Kanawha, which also drains into the Ohio. The streams of eastern Kentucky drain into the Licking, Kentucky, and Cumberland Rivers which all join the Ohio, too.

The climate of the region is mild, and rainfall is plentiful. Average annual temperature is about 65°F. (18.3°C.); growing season is about 220 days. Rainfall is fairly uniform throughout the year, usually accumulating between 30 and 50 inches (76.2 and 127.0 cm.); in the Nantahala and Great Smoky Mountains up to 80 inches (203.2 cm.). In general, slopes facing south and southeast are warmer and drier than those facing north and northwest.[19]

Flora, Fauna, Coal, Minerals Abundant

Because of its geological history and climate, the Southern Appalachian region possesses an abundance and great variety of trees, at least 130 species, perhaps the greatest variety of any temperate region in the world. Species distribution varies with location and altitude. Up to 2,500 feet (762 meters) above sea level, oak forests predominate; principally red, chestnut, scarlet, white, and black oaks, as well as shortleaf pine, various species of hickory, black gum, sourwood, dogwood, and red maple. Before the disastrous blight early in this century, American chestnut was a major and exceedingly valuable species. Between 2,500 and 3,500 feet (1,067 meters) in elevation, yellow (tulip) poplar, white pine, hemlock, birch, beech, walnut, and cheery are abundant. Above 3,500 feet, black spruce and balsam fir forests cover the mountain slopes. Dense undergrowths of rhododendron and mountain laurel are common in much of the region. In general, the heaviest rainfall and most luxuriant forest are on the protected northwestern-facing Blue Ridge slopes.[20]

The region's forest is home for an unusual variety of fauna. Although most of the species are rodents and other small mammals, many have provided a rich quarry for hunters. Deer, squirrels, black bears, raccoons, opossums, grouse, and wild turkeys abound. Until they were eliminated or driven from the region early in this century, elk and wolves were present in the Southern Appalachians; foxes and bobcats remain. Wild boars, which were imported from Europe in 1912 and introduced near the Tennessee-North Carolina border south of the Great Smokies, persist on remote slopes.[21]

Soils are of disintegrated and decomposed sedimentary rock. Each subregion has its own typical soils; those of the Blue Ridge are most subject to erosion and those of the greater Appalachian Valley most conducive to productive cultivation. The alluvium in the broader river valleys is fertile and productive if not overworked, and the region's bottomland soil is excellent for growing corn, beans, and other garden vegetables. However, some mountain soils are thin, rocky, and infertile; when exposed on steep slopes, they can become severely eroded.[22]

The Southern Appalachians are rich in coal deposits, both bituminous (soft) and anthracite (hard), as well as true minerals. Most of the coal is high-grade bituminous, concentrated in eastern Kentucky, where it lies close to the surface of the folds and ridges of the earth in horizontal beds from 8 to 10 feet thick. Kentucky coal thus can be easily stripped or mined by boring horizontally into a mountainside. The Valley and Ridge subregion of Virginia and Tennessee also contain high-quality coal, much of it anthracite, that is usually mined in deep shafts. The Southern Appalachians contain reserves of limestone, copper, manganese, and sulfur, all of which have been mined with varying degrees of financial success over the last century.[23] They are also presumed to contain sizeable deposits of oil and natural gas. Recent

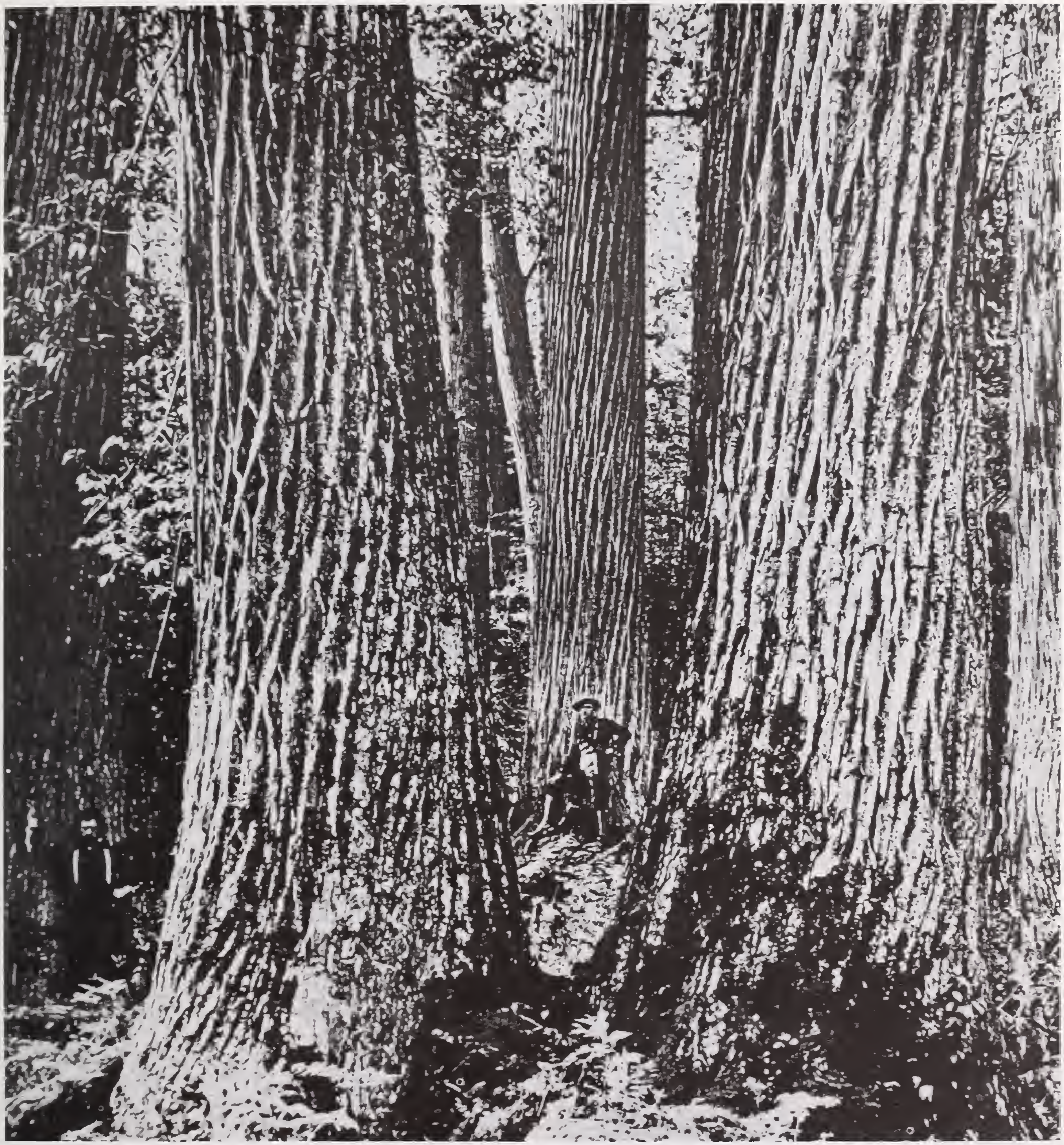


Figure 4.—A group of huge old "virgin" American chestnut trees up to 13 feet in diameter deep in the Great Smoky Mountains of western North Carolina; photo taken about 1890. Note the men at left and center. A foreign blight wiped out this extremely valuable species between 1900 and 1930. (Photo courtesy of Shelley Mastran Smith)

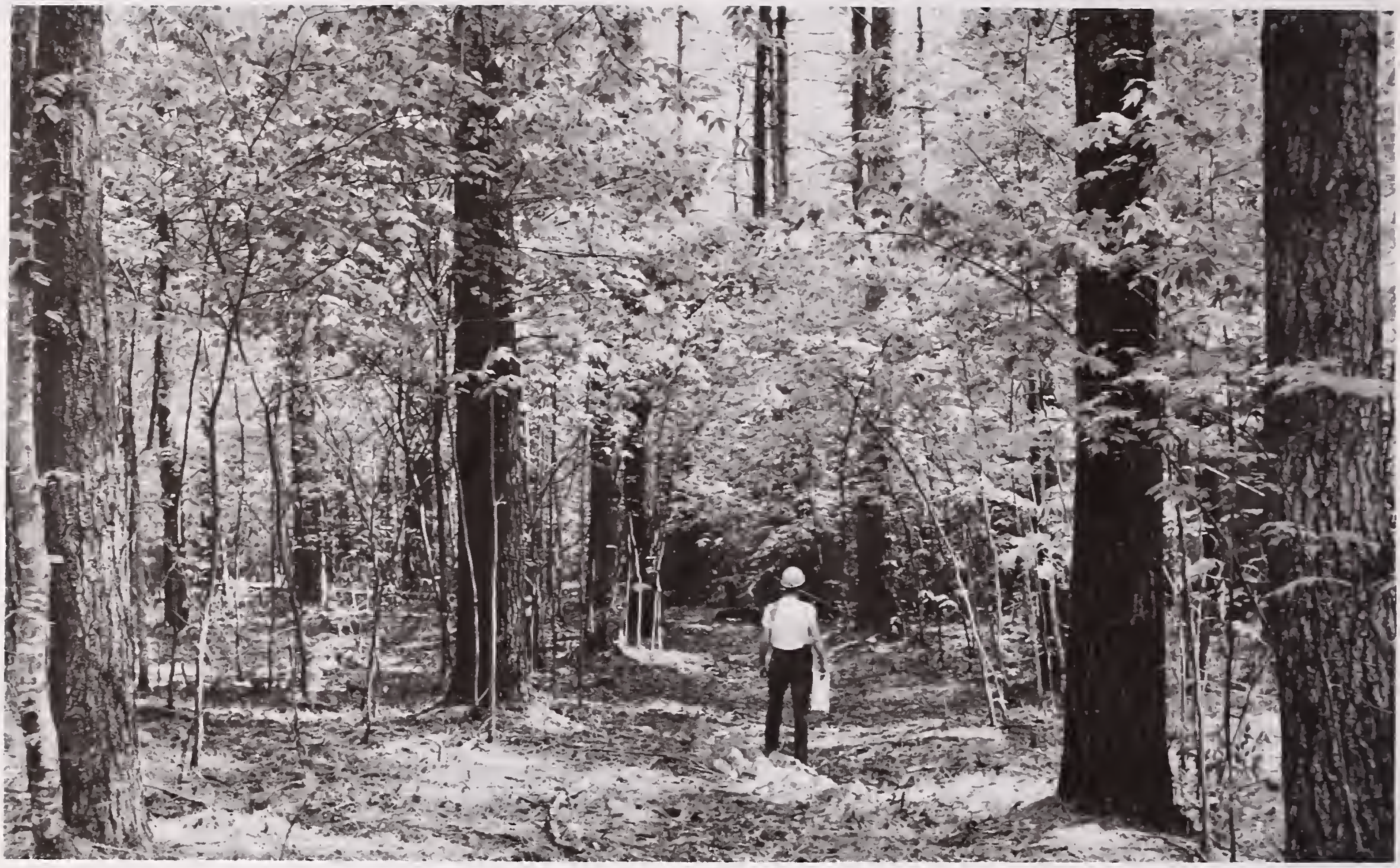


Figure 5.—A 70-year-old stand of white pine with understory of sugar maple and birch high up in the Bald Mountains near Hurricane Gap and the Tennessee-North Carolina State line. Nolichucky Ranger District, Cherokee National Forest, near Rich Mountain Lookout and the Appalachian Trail, just up the ridge from Hot Springs, N.C., and the French Broad River. When photo was taken in May 1962, Ranger Jerry Nickell was marking trees for a partial cut. These northern species do well at this 3,200-foot elevation. This site along Courtland Branch is used as a dispersed camping site by visitors. (NA:95G-502184)

geological research has shown the mountains to be underlain to a depth of 12 miles with layers of sedimentary rock, the kind least likely to have dispelled hydrocarbons and therefore most likely to contain natural gas and oil.[24]

Thus, the region is unique in its geology and physiography, and has natural assets which contribute to its distinctiveness. The physical geography of the Southern Appalachians greatly influenced its settlement and early development, as well as the way the region was perceived and used throughout the 19th and 20th centuries.

Settlement of the Southern Appalachians

Thousands of years before white men settled the Southern Appalachians, aboriginal Indians inhabited the area. Archeological evidence suggests human activity over most of western North Carolina, eastern Tennessee, southwestern Virginia, northeastern Georgia, and northwestern South Carolina as early as 10,000 to 8,000 B.C. Throughout the Blue Ridge and the Valley and Ridge subregions, weaponry and domestic tools have been discovered that suggest a mobile hunting civilization evolving slowly over the millennia. By 1000 to 1650 A.D. the Cherokees, as the largest group of Indians came to be known, were cultivating corn, beans, squash, sweet potatoes, and fruits in scattered, nucleated villages, where Europeans encountered them.[25]

The first European to see the mountains may have been Hernando DeSoto who, on an expedition from Florida in 1540, named them after the Appalache Indians. Next were John Lederer and his party, sent in 1669 by Virginia's Governor, William Berkeley, to discover a route to the western Indians. Over the next 50 years, several more expeditions explored the Blue Ridge area, primarily for Indian trade, but none resulted in permanent settlement.[26]

The Southern Appalachians were settled after 1730 by pioneers of western European stock searching for more freedom and abundant land. For 100 years considerable pioneer traffic to the west moved through the gaps of these mountains.[27]

The early settlers were primarily Scotch-Irish Presbyterians from northern Ireland and Palatinate (west Rhine) Germans. The latter immigrated in large numbers between 1720 and 1760, fleeing religious persecution and economic hardship. They settled first in Pennsylvania, gradually moved westward, then, along with others, ventured down the Greater Appalachian Valley of Virginia and North Carolina. Other early settlers moved inland from the Carolina Piedmont, over the ridges into Kentucky and Tennessee, which became States in 1790 and 1796, respectively. They traveled by wagon and horseback, following river valleys and Indian game trails, crossing the parallel ridges where streams had cut through the mountain chains at places like Saluda Gap just south of present-day Asheville, on the North Carolina South Carolina line, and Cumberland Gap, the furthest west point of Virginia, on the Kentucky-Tennessee border.

Most pioneers moved through the Southern Appalachians to the Ohio River valley, on to Missouri, Arkansas, and further westward. But a permanent population, attracted by the mountains, remained in the valleys and coves to live by hunting, stock raising, and simple farming. By 1755 the Cumberland Gap area had several permanent clusters of dwellings; Watauga became the first settlement in Tennessee in 1768.[28]

After 1810, the stream of pioneer settlers began to slow, and by the 1830's it had all but stopped. The last major influx of pioneer migration to the Southern Appalachians occured after gold was discovered near Dahlonega, Ga., in 1828. By 1830 between 6,000 and 10,000 persons lived in northern Georgia, but many left when the gold rush ended.[29]

After the major settlement phase, people and goods between East and West still passed through the Highlands. Merchandise from eastern ports was transported on primitive roads. Large livestock herds were driven from the interior across the ridges to Baltimore, Philadelphia, and to the cotton plantations. Travelers heading west might meet droves of as many as 4,000 or 5,000 hogs heading to market. In 1824 it was estimated that a million dollars' worth of horses, cattle, and hogs came through Saluda Gap to supply South Carolina plantations.[30] Whiskey was also frequently shipped through the mountains; it was less bulky, higher in value, and less perishable than the corn that produced it. By midcentury, however, Middle West farm products were more often shipped down the Mississippi to the East. Traffic on the mountain gap routes gradually declined.

Natives Were Cherokee Indians

When the pioneers first entered the Southern Appalachians, they encountered the Cherokee culture. Trade between the white settlers and the Indians developed early, and was the means of mutual influence. Pioneers learned from the Cherokees what crops to cultivate, how to farm, where and how to hunt. The Indians received material goods from white settlers, and soon abandoned their thatched huts for cabins with log and rail siding.[31]

The two cultures, however, did not remain compatible. Over the course of the 18th century, as settlers moved into the mountains the Indians' territory was circumscribed. Between 1767 and 1836, through a series of controversial treaties between the Cherokees and the State of North Carolina, the Indians, under severe pressure, gradually relinquished all tribal lands east of the Mississippi River. Although about 2,000 Cherokees voluntarily emigrated to the West, many were hunted down, forcibly removed and marched to Oklahoma by Federal troops after 1838. Many died on this "trail of tears." A band of about 1,000 Cherokees refused to leave and instead hid in the Great Smoky Mountains. In 1878, with the aid of an attorney, William H. Thomas, these fugitive Cherokees obtained title to over 60,000 acres of land in Swain and Jackson counties, N.C., site of the present Qualla Reservation.[32]

By the middle of the 19th century, the Southern Appalachians were fairly widely settled and the important towns established. Just as topography influenced pioneer routes of travel, so did it structure the region's settlement pattern. Settlement occurred first in the broader, flatter, more accessible river valleys, such as the Watauga, Nolichucky, Clinch, Holston, Powell, New, and French Broad, where the soil was relatively rich and productive. Asheville, N.C., on the French Broad River, started as a trading post in 1793 and was incorporated in 1797. By 1880 it had over 2,600 inhabitants. Knoxville, located at the confluence of the French Broad and Holston rivers, was founded in 1791, although a fort had been there as early as 1786.[33] Smaller river and stream valleys which cut west through the ridges were also settled early. Protected coves and hollows with arable land, good water, and abundant timber were sought as homesites. Only gradually did people occupy the steeper ridges where the terrain and rocky soils often made farming difficult. In general, ridge settlements were more characteristic of the Cumberland Plateau area than of the Blue Ridge region, where, as Ronald Eller has written, "the predominance of larger coves permitted oval patterns of settlement around the foot of the slopes, leaving the interior basin open for cultivation and expansion."

Many Small Family Clusters

The mountains became a land of scattered, self-sufficient "island communities" divided by ridges and hills.[34] These communities generally consisted of small clusters of two or three homes within easy walking distance of each other. Groups of neighbors were often kinfolk as well. Later generations added to these clusters, but there were rarely more than a dozen households together. Commercial settlements often developed at a gap, at a crossroads, or at the mouth of a large hollow, but they were small, usually containing one or two stores, a mill, a church, and a school.[35] Larger towns were widely scattered and slow to grow.

Figure 6.—The "Pink Beds-Cradle of Forestry" area of the old Biltmore Forest of William Vanderbilt, nucleus of the Pisgah National Forest just south of Asheville, N.C. Panoramic view was taken from Pounding Mill Overlook on U.S. highway 276 about 1950. (Photo from National Forests in North Carolina)

From early in the 18th century, the land was divided into units later called counties, subdivided as population increased. In western North Carolina this process took 150 years. Rowan, the first, was formed in 1753; Avery, the last, in 1911. County seats were smaller and less important than elsewhere in the South.[36]

Until about 1900, mountain communities were connected to each other and outside points only by narrow rutted, muddy or dusty roads that inhibited frequent or long-distance travel. Nevertheless, the isolation was much like that of most communities in early 19th-century rural America. Mountaineers traded with nearby communities, worked seasonally outside the mountains, received letters and periodicals through the mail, and were visited by occasional peddlers and local politicians.[37] Mountain people had some access to new goods and ideas.

The relative isolation of the region become more pronounced after the Civil War. Although the war engaged the sentiments of many, it did little to alter the economy and settlement of the region. The rise of industrialization and urbanization was slow to reach it. Not until more than a decade after the first transcontinental railroad was completed in 1869 did a rail line cross the region. The mountains were then gradually opened to tourists, travelers, and investors. In the 1880's timber and mining interests began to acquire mountain land, and the region's population started to swell.

By 1900 industrialization had finally arrived. However, impacts for long were only scattered and fragmentary. The settlement pattern survived, and the self-sufficient family farm remained dominant. In 1900 only 4 percent of the region's population could be classified as urban (living in places of 2,500 people or more). Asheville, the largest city, had a population of 14,694, while the neighboring centers of Knoxville and Chattanooga, across the mountains on the Tennessee River, each boasted counts of over 30,000. Other large mountain towns were Bristol and Johnson City, Tenn.;

Middlesboro, Ky. and Dalton, Ga., each with over 4,000 people. Several mountain counties had one town of at least 1,000, but many counties had no village with more than 500 people.[38] Larger towns were usually county seats, but there were notable exceptions, such as Middlesboro, near Cumberland Gap.[39] The most populous areas were the Asheville vicinity, northeastern Tennessee, and southwestern Virginia. These Tennessee and Virginia areas each had four counties with over 20,000 inhabitants. Least populated were the highlands of extreme southwestern North Carolina and northern Georgia. Both Clay and Graham Counties, N.C., for example, had fewer than 5,000 people.

Population density over the region was about 35 per square mile in 1900, and some counties had less than 20, like Rabun, Ga.; Leslie, Ky.; Bland, Va.; and Graham, Swain, and Transylvania, N.C.

Fast Population Growth

In the last decades of the 19th century, the rate of population growth in the Southern Appalachians was greater than for the Nation as a whole. For the 79 counties in the region's core, the rate from 1890 to 1900 was about 23 percent. For the United States it was 20.7 percent. The growth varied considerably from State to State, however. Kentucky led the mountain counties with 34 percent during the 1890's; northern Georgia had only 14 percent. Certain counties grew by more than 50 percent over the decade, primarily coal counties, such as Wise (100 percent) and Dickerson in Virginia, and Leslie (70 percent), Bell, Harlan, and Knott, in Kentucky. Some noncoal counties also spurted.

Although only 4 percent of the region's population was urban in 1900, about one person in four lived in nonfarm homes (33 percent in eastern Tennessee and 40 percent in southwestern Virginia, both of which had more small towns; Virginia also had larger farms). Most farms in the region in 1900 were between 50 and 175 acres, averaging about the same as that for the States involved and for the South Atlantic region, but smaller than the 147-acre average for the Nation as a whole.[40] Typical ranges of farms by size are in table 1.

The independence and self-sufficiency of the Southern Appalachian farmer is generally confirmed by farm tenure statistics for 1900. Most farms in the region (about two-thirds) were owner-operated; however, the second highest category of tenure, "share tenants," indicates an increasing tendency toward absentee landlordism and tenancy in general. In some counties, as many as 30 percent of all farms had share tenancy. This situation was one reflection of the outsider investment and changes in landownership that began toward the end of the 19th century.[41]

Although modern enterprise was beginning to bring significant changes, there was in 1900 only small-scale and scattered industry. Most counties of Appalachian North Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia had from 50 to 100 factories; those in Georgia and Kentucky usually had less than 50. These firms did not employ many people. Less than 1 percent of the region's population earned wages in manufacturing. Even in Asheville's Buncombe County, the 208 factories employed only 3 percent of the people.

Thus, industrial development was nascent and the small, 100-acre, owner-occupied farm prevailed in the core of the region, which would within two decades experience major Federal land acquisition. The mountains were only partially populated and cleared, towns were small and few, and settlements were scattered.

Marginal, Self-Sufficient Farms

In 1900 the marginally self-sufficient family farm — in Rupert Vance's words, "the *modus vivendi* of isolation" — was still the most significant element in the economy of the Southern Appalachians. Unlike other rural areas of the

Table 1. — Number and percentage of farms by size in four typical Southern Appalachian Counties, 1900

Size of farm in acres	Union, Georgia		Graham, North Carolina		Unicoi, Tennessee		Bland, Virginia	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Under 3	None	0	2	1	7	1	3	Under 1
3-9	36	2	22	3	64	9	25	4
10-19	91	6	45	6	98	15	37	6
20-49	245	17	137	19	189	28	104	16
50-99	395	27	212	29	149	22	118	18
100-174	419	29	185	25	104	15	149	23
175-259	140	10	64	9	32	5	89	13
260-499	93	6	40	5	16	2	82	12
500-999	22	2	18	2	11	2	32	5
Over 1000	3	1	7	1	8	1	21	3
Totals	1444	100	732	100	678	100	660	100

Source: Bureau of the Census, *Twelfth Census of the U.S.* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1902).

country, especially the nonmountain South where the raising of a single cash crop prevailed, the mountain farm remained diversified. Before the Civil War at least, the mountain farmer produced up to 90 percent of the products he needed.[42] By 1880 the region had a greater concentration of noncommercial farms than any other part of the United States.

In the late 1800's the typical mountain farm contained both bottomland and steep hillsides. About a quarter was in crops, a fifth in cleared pasture, and the remainder, over half, was in forest. Springs and a nearby creek provided plentiful water. About half the land under cultivation was devoted to corn, which provided a household staple and the basis for whiskey, as well as grain for horses and hogs. Secondary crops were oats, wheat, hay, sorghum, rye, potatoes, and buckwheat. An orchard of apple and other fruit trees was planted. Many farmers had their own bee hives, and every farm had a large vegetable garden where green beans, pumpkins, melons, and squash were commonly grown. Contour farming was still unknown there. Crops and gardens often stretched vertically up the side of a hill, hastening erosion, runoff, and siltation of mountain streams.[43]

Mountain farmers cleared land for cultivation by felling the largest trees and burning the remaining vegetation. Indeed, burning was the accepted practice of "greening" the land, including woods for browsing, in the spring and "settling" it in the fall. The fires were set to destroy rodents, snakes, and insects, and to clear underbrush. The thin layer of ash left added a small nutrient to frequently depleted soil, the only inorganic fertilizer then known to mountain farmers. Once lands became unproductive through overcultivation or erosion, they simply cleared more adjacent forest and abandoned garden plots to scrub.

A variety of livestock helped make the mountain family self-sufficient. A few milk cows, a flock of chickens, a horse or mule, or a yoke of work oxen, and a dozen or more shoats (pigs) were found on nearly every farm. Sheep were often raised for their wool, which the women weaved into clothing, blankets, or rugs. Geese were useful for insect and weed control and for their down which was plucked for bed quilts and pillows. A good hunting dog or two were necessary to keep rabbits and groundhogs out of the garden and for the year-round hunting of rabbits, squirrels, quail, and other wild game to supplement the farm's meat supply.[44]

Usually 8 to 12 people — parents, children, and occasionally grandparents or other relatives — lived on the farm. Aided by a horse or mule, the family performed all the work necessary to provide its own food and shelter. The center and symbol of mountain life was the farm home itself. Homes were usually built in sheltered spots with good water readily accessible and within easy walking distance — but not sight — of neighbors. The traditional mountain homested was a handhewn log cabin, usually one room with a loft, front porch, and possibly a lean-to at the back. When sawmills became more prevalent throughout the region in the late 1800's, small frame houses were built. Eventually two- to four-room box houses and larger frame houses became more common. However, log cabins continued to be built in more isolated areas well into the 20th century.[45]

A limited exchange occurred between farms, between farms and towns, and between farms and distant markets. From the earliest settlement until the 1880's, the principal commercial activity was the raising of livestock. Cattle, hogs, and other animals were allowed to roam the forest freely or were driven to pasture on the ridges or high grassy mountain "balds," which resulted from forest fires. The most important animal for sale was the hog. Fattened on the abundant chestnuts, acorns, walnuts, and hickory nuts, and "finished off" before sale or slaughter on several weeks' diet of corn, mountain hogs provided considerable ham and bacon for the South. Throughout the 19th century cattle and hogs were driven at least semiannually from the mountains to markets in North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia, and even to Baltimore and Philadelphia. The practice continued even after the coming of the railroads, although crops and bacon were also shipped by rail to such markets as Chattanooga and Augusta.[46]

Timber, Herbs, Honey, 'Moonshine' Add to Income

Mountaineers also supplemented their incomes with occasional timber cutting. Small-scale logging provided work during the winter and an opportunity for trade. Some families operated small, local steam-engine sawmills. Some produced wood products such as chairs, shingles, and fenceposts for exchange with their neighbors or local merchants. Until the early 20th century when it was wiped out by a foreign blight, chestnut was the favored Southern Appalachian wood, readily marketable as timber or finished product, and its nuts (mast) were an important food for hogs and wildlife.

The forests provided the mountaineer with other abundant marketable produce. For many families, the gathering of medicinal herbs and roots was an important commercial activity. In late summer the family would collect yellow-root, witch hazel, raspberry leaves, spearmint, sassafras, goldenseal, and bloodroot (used for dyes). Ginseng and galax were especially important forest plants. Ginseng is a perennial herb with a long aromatic root, long favored by the Chinese for its supposed stimulant properties. It was heavily gathered from 1850 to 1900 until its supply was severely depleted. Galax, an evergreen ground cover used especially in floral arrangements, became an important collectible toward the end of the century. A town in Grayson County, Va., is named after galax. Such plants were often used as exchange for household items at local stores. Merchants receiving the plants dried and packaged them for shipment by wagon and later railroad to distribution centers in the Northeast. Between 1880 and 1900, merchants paid $2.00 to $5.00 for a pound of ginseng root collected in the forests.[47]

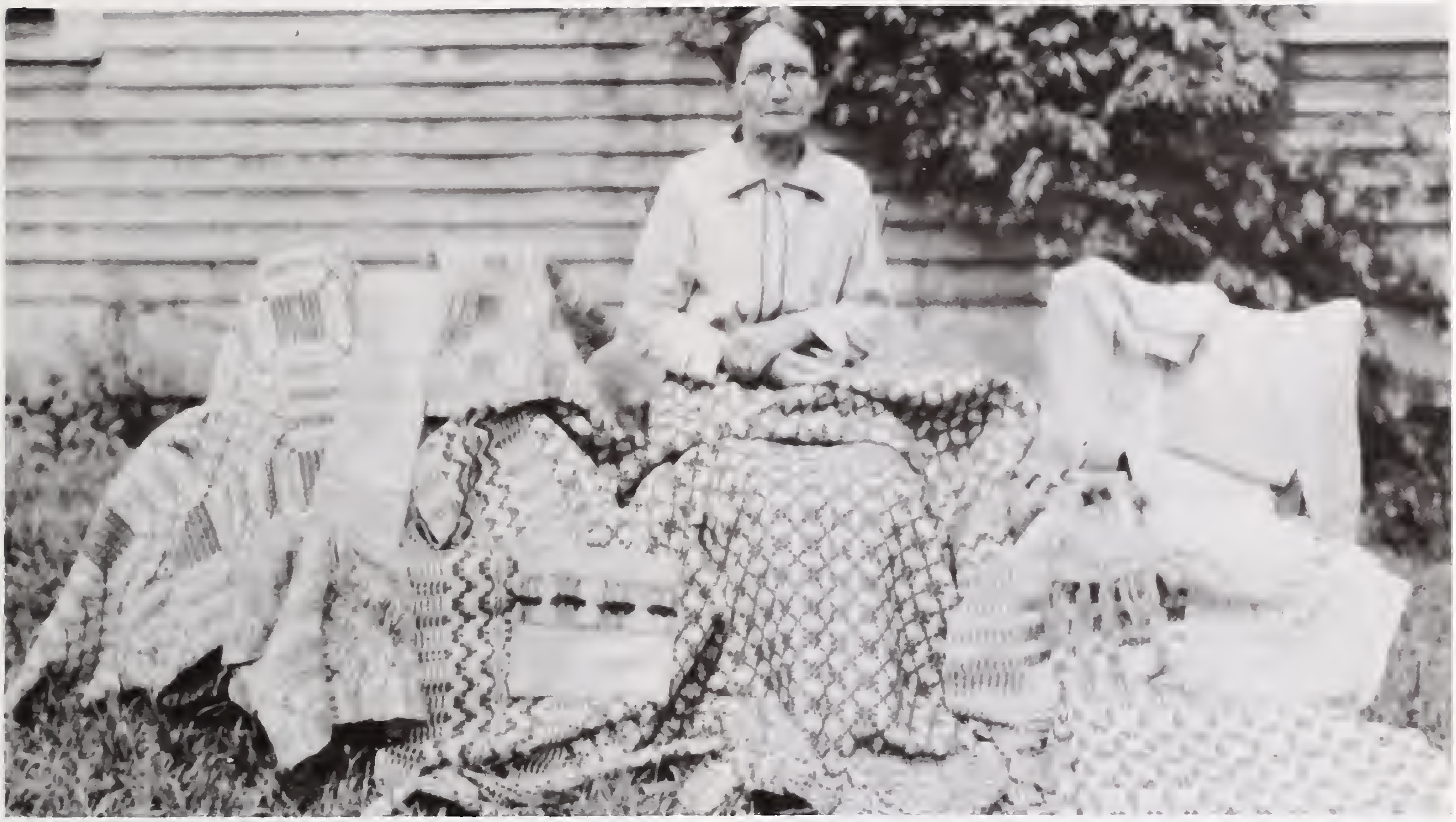


Figure 7.—Illustrative of the rich home crafts tradition of the Southern Appalachians was Mrs. Lutitia Hayes, seated with many of the blankets and quilts she had made, in front of her home in Clear Creek, Knott County, Ky., in September 1930. (NA:95G-249152)

Families also supplemented their incomes by trading products of their fields, kitchens, and parlors, such as jams, honey, apple butter, woven and knitted goods, and illegally distilled liquor. Indeed whiskey ("moonshine") became the fundamental, unique, virtually universal domestic industry of the Southern Appalachian region after the Civil War when the tax on it skyrocketed. As Rupert Vance has written, distilling was a natural outgrowth of the combined circumstances of corn production and relative isolation. Corn was the chief cash crop cultivated, but its transportation was "a baffling problem." Therefore, instead of being carried to market as grain, it was transmuted to a more valuable condensed product: its essence was conveyed by jug.[48] In some hollows particularly northwestern North Carolina, tobacco became an important cash crop. Surrey, Madison, Burke, Catawba, and Buncombe counties had sizeable acreage in tobacco from 1880 to 1900, but this crop faded there as piedmont and coastal tobacco became more popular.[49] It is still grown in some mountain sections near Winston-Salem, however.

Only rarely would a mountaineer actually receive cash for the livestock, timber, whiskey, roots, sweets, or herbs he might trade. Barter was universal. There were few banks in the mountains until after 1900. Before railroads and industrialization, local merchants extended credit and exchanged their wares for the produce of the mountaineers. A good source of cash was seasonal fruit picking. Thousands of mountain men traveled to lowland orchards at harvest time, and took most of their wages back to their families.[50] On the whole, however, mountaineers seldom saw cash.

Isolation Fosters Independence, Equality

The relative isolation and self-sufficiency of the 19th-century Southern Appalachians fostered a loose social and political structure that emphasized independence and equality. Since mountain settlements were clusters of extended families, religious, social, and political activities were organized along kinship lines.

The concept of equality — that any man was as good as another — flourished in a setting where most people owned their own land and made their living from it with family labor. Slavery existed in mountain counties before the Civil War, but it never had a significant impact. In traditional mountain society, social divisions were not based on wealth but rather on status derived from the value system of the community. In mountain neighborhoods where economic differences were minimal, personality or character traits, sex, age, and family group were the bases for social distinction. Thus, the rural social order was simply divided into respectable and nonrespectable groups, with varying degrees in each.[51]

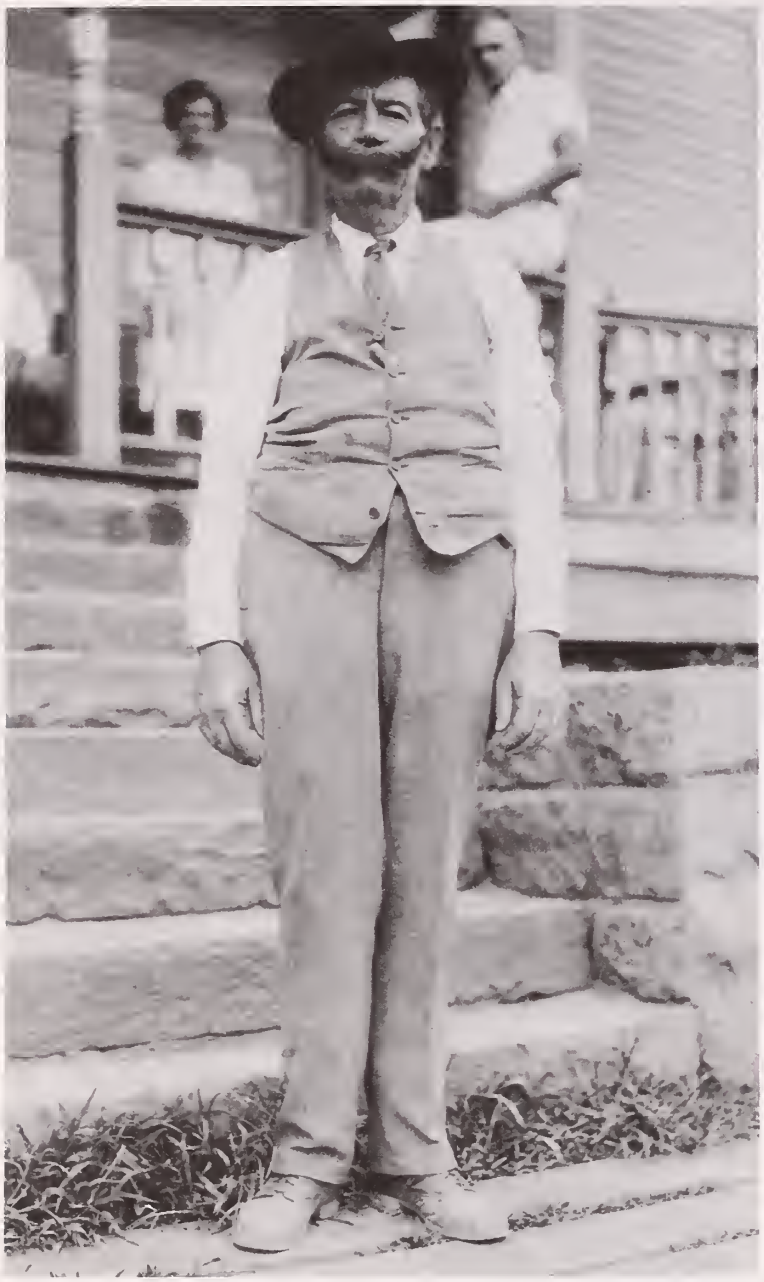


Figure 8.—Jim Perkins, who then was county attorney in the tiny Knott County seat of Hindman, in the bitumimous coal belt of eastern Kentucky, August 1930, then a severely depressed area. (NA:95G-247046)

In larger towns, however, a class consciousness based on wealth was more evident. Wealthier, landed families who controlled local businesses and provided political leadership formed a local elite, as elsewhere in the South. They sent their sons outside the mountains to be educated, to become teachers, lawyers, doctors, and businessmen.[52] Using their political influence, education, outside contacts, and comparative wealth, members of these families played an important role in the region's industrialization. They purchased land and mineral rights from their neighbors for sale to outsiders, and they publicized and promoted the development of transportation improvements, especially the railroads, often acquiring large fortunes as a result.[53]

Political activity in the Southern Appalachians was informal, personal, and largely based upon ties of kinship. Respected patriarchs and commercial leaders often obtained political power. They relied on family ties to get elected and, having won elected office, were expected to look out for their kinfolk. National or State politics were of little concern to the mountaineer. Political interest was largely in local matters and the election of county officials: the county attorney, superintendent of schools, circuit court judge, and the sheriff.[54]

Political activity centered on the county courthouse. What the VanNoppens have written of western North Carolina can be said of the region as a whole:

> The courthouse was to the county seat what the cathedral was to a medieval city: it expressed the hopes and aspirations of the people. It was . . . the shaper of human lives and destinies. It was the center of government and authority. It brought order and system to the wilderness . . . It was the focal point of the social life, the occasion when those from one cove could meet and gossip with their neighbors from other coves and ridges, whom they had not seen for months.[55]

Thus, when circuit court met in the county seat several times a year, many families attended the sessions to shop and meet with friends and relatives. On election days large crowds gathered to be entertained by campaigning politicians. Until the turn of the century voting was by voice rather than secret ballot and voters would often stay all day, waiting to see how the election came out.[56]

Churches, Schools Are Simple

The strong egalitarianism and independence of the mountaineer were reflected in the prevailing forms of religious belief and practice. Presbyterians, Baptists, Methodists, and Lutherans were the chief denominations of the Southern Appalachians, although the area fostered hundreds of smaller sects as well. In the 18th century, Presbyterians were dominant among the pioneers. This denomination, however, is highly organized and rigidly structured, emphasizing formal ritual, and with a firm requirement for a well-educated ministry. Thus, it was not readily adaptable to life in the small, isolated, unlettered neighborhoods of the mountains. Baptists became by far the most successful of the Protestant denominations, here as elsewhere, founding thousands of churches which grouped under the Southern Baptist Convention.[57] It was less structured, more democratic, and appealed strongly to the emotions. When members were too far from an established church to attend services regularly, they formed their own congregation. By 1900 Baptists accounted for well over a third of the total membership in religious groups of the region.[58] For 100 years, Baptist splinter groups and other small sects had developed, each expressing its variety of a down-to-earth, simple, emotional Christianity of sin and personal salvation. Although the Bible was the supreme religious authority, each person was free to interpret it.[59]

Education in the Southern Appalachians until well into the 20th century was largely informal, sporadic, and practical. In the smallest and most isolated settlements, one family member would serve as instructor in the rudiments of reading, writing, and mathematics for all the neighboring kin. The school term, only 3 to 5 months long, depended on weather and crop conditions. Meager tax money deprived teachers of equipment and materials. School houses were one- or two-room log cabins, poorly lighted, with fireplace or stove. Glass windows were rare before 1900. Teachers were young and inexperienced. County seats and more affluent communities established independent grade-school districts with 9-month terms that attracted trained teachers with better pay and living conditions. In Kentucky, firms such as the Stearns Coal and Lumber Co., provided schools at their own expense in company towns.[60]

Railroads, Investors, and Tourists Arrive

During the 1880's and 1890's, a series of developments began almost imperceptibly to alter the economic and social life of the Southern Appalachians. Railroads, which before the 1880's had just skirted the mountains on their way West, finally crossed the big hurdle of the Blue Ridge, after much difficulty, and the region was "discovered" by outsiders — tourists, health-seekers, journalists, novelists, and investors. A line reached Asheville from Winston-Salem and Raleigh in 1880, and then went over the Great Smokies to Knoxville.[61] As railroad construction accelerated, and as more northerners became familiar with the area, the resources of the region drew increasing national attention. The tremendous industrial expansion and urban growth that the northeastern and north central United States experienced after the Civil War created a heavy demand for raw materials, particularly timber and coal. Sources of these materials that had previously been inaccessible or even unknown grew attractive to investors. By 1900, northern and foreign capital was invested in even the remotest areas, as the region was pulled into the national urban-industrial system.

In the last decade of the century the Southern Railway extended lines into northern Georgia, reaching the heavily wooded slopes that would one day be included in the Chattahoochee National Forest.[62] In the early 1880's the Norfolk and Western Railroad extended lines into southwestern Virginia, principally to tap the wealth of coal in Tazewell County. A branch down the Clinch River Valley opened up the coal fields of Wise County. In 1890 this line was linked to Knoxville by the Louisville and Nashville Railroad.[63] In 1901 the Southern Railway joined the area of Brevard and Hendersonville, near Asheville, to its system.[64] The Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad consolidated lines in eastern Kentucky after 1900, linking Cairo, Ill., with Cumberland Gap.[65] Some mountain areas, however, remained unconnected by rail. Most of the northwestern North Carolina was reached late by railroad. Not until 1917 did a rail line arrive in Boone, seat of Watauga County.[66] But by 1910, a rail network was well established in the Southern Appalachians.

Well before the railroads, the mountains had been a mecca, however. As early as the 1820's, wealthy Charlestonians traveled by carriage to spend summers in the mountains, particularly at mineral springs. Several prominent South Carolinians built summer homes in the Cashiers area of southwestern North Carolina before the Civil War. Resort hotels were established throughout the region, notably in Asheville, White Sulphur Springs, and Hot Springs, N.C., which were interconnected by stage coach lines. In 1877 a log lodge was built on the 6,150-foot crest of Roan Mountain, in Mitchell County, N.C., bordering Carter County, Tenn. More elaborate ones followed.

Early Tourist Boom

With the railroads, tourism boomed, albeit highly localized and seasonal. Nowhere was the boom so evident as in Asheville. From 2,600 residents in 1880, it grew fivefold in 10 years. The town thrived first as a haven for tuberculosis patients; its many sanitaria included the well-known Mountain Sanitarium.[67] Notable among numerous hotels were the large, luxurious Battery Park Hotel, built shortly after the railroad arrived, and the Grove Park Inn, built in 1913. The city soon became a favorite resort for wealthy and middle-class businessmen from the industrial Northeast. The town bustled in the summer with crowds of tourists; in 1888 Charles Warner, New York journalist, praised its gay atmosphere and facilities highly.[68]

Many who were attracted to Asheville as tourists became residents. Wealthy families, like the George Vanderbilts of New York and the Vances of North Carolina, built lavish mountain estates nearby. The English financier, George Moore, created a hunting preserve in the Great Smokies in Graham County, N.C., which he stocked with bears and wild boars to provide sport for his guests. Meanwhile, resorts and hotels proliferated. After the railroad was extended to Knoxville, the large hotel at Warm Springs added 100 rooms. Investors constructed a resort town at Highlands, Macon County, N.C., which in 1890 had 350 inhabitants and was attracting tourists from coastal South Carolina and Georgia. Carl A. Schenck, a German forester who taught forestry on the Biltmore estate near Asheville, noted that, in about 1901, a "modern hotel" was built even in the small town of Brevard, Transylvania County, N.C., "where rooms with real baths were obtainable."[69]

Tourists spread word of the resources and increasing accessibility of the region. State resource surveys of the 1880's and 1890's publicized it. In 1891 the North Carolina Geological Survey examined the State's resources in an effort to further economic development. Foresters W. W. Ashe and Gifford Pinchot, who later became Chief of the Forest Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, were hired to conduct the forest survey. This survey and others like it confirmed the observations of tourists and helped induce investments in timber, coal, and other minerals worth millions of dollars.[70]

Mountaineer Stereotype Develops

As the railroads opened up portions of the mountains and resort areas sprang up, the region attracted novelists and journalists in search of local color. During the last 30 years of the 19th century, travelogues and short stories set in little-known locales were extremely popular with the national reading public. Major magazines of the period — *Lippencott's, Harper's, Scribner's,* and *Appleton's* — provided a ready market for such writing. Professional authors looking for a romantic setting and for dramatic, novel materials found both in the Southern Appalachians.

Writers who popularized the region generally focused on the mountains of one State. For example, Mary N. Murfree, under the pseudonym Charles E. Craddock, wrote numerous stories such as "The Romance of Sunrise Rock" and "The Despot of Broomsedge Cove," most set in the Great Smoky Mountains of eastern Tennessee. The background of Frances H. Burnett's stories was North Carolina. James L. Allen wrote extensively of travels through the Cumberland area of Kentucky. Such writings found a wide audience; the most popular stories and articles were printed both in magazine and book form, and books often went through several editions.[71]

These authors pictured a culture different from the rest of America, especially the urban middle-class reader. The mountain environment was described as mysterious and awesome, and the mountaineer as peculiar and antiquated, with customs and a language of his own.

Along with northern journalists came the northern Protestant home mission movement. Protestant missionary work in the mountains grew out of a general effort to transform the South along northern lines and to eliminate racial discrimination through education and religious influence. At a time when the major older Protestant denominations were competing for new mission fields to develop, the Southern mountains were seen by many as an "unchurched" land, despite the numerous small Baptist congregations, because these northern Protestant denominations were weakly represented there. To overcome this situation, several hundred church schools were established throughout the region, supported by the American Missionary Association. One of the best known private Christian schools in Appalachia is Berea College in Berea, Ky., founded in 1855 by John S. Fee, a Presbyterian (later a Baptist) minister, as an integrated, coeducational, but nondenominational institution. These schools emphasized what they saw to be Christian and American values, modern ways, and provided practical training for the "exceptional population" of the region to participate fully in national life. Henry Shapiro claims that mission schools institutionalized Appalachian "otherness," through the implicit insistence that the mountaineers did in fact compose a distinct element in the American population."[72]

By the end of the 19th century, the southern mountaineer had been identified by others as not only different from most Americans but also in need of their help. Two aspects of mountain behavior in particular captured the interest of outsiders. These were the sometimes-linked practices of moonshining and feuding. Mountaineers came to be perceived and characterized as illegal distillers of corn whiskey and as gun slingers who fiercely protected their stills, their homesteads, and their family honor with little regard for the law.[73]

Estimating the actual prevalence of moonshining and feuding in 19th century Southern Appalachia is difficult at best, for from the beginning the documentation of these practices was unscientific. Certainly, moonshining was a common household industry. During the Civil War, distilleries were required to be licensed, and liquor was taxed at increasingly higher rates (from 20 cents per gallon in 1862 to $2.00 per gallon in 1864). Although a certain degree of compliance with these regulations occurred, many mountaineers resented the Government's authority to take a large cut of one of the few profits they could realize from their labors. They simply defied the system by hiding their stills in the woods, literally making whiskey by moonshine, and selling the liquor on the sly.[74]

After the Civil War, as the liquor tax increased but the revenues from it decreased, the U.S. Internal Revenue Service established new penalties for tax violations and instituted an era of raids on illegal mountain stills. Although moonshiners often established secret cooperative relationships with Federal revenuers (perhaps proferring their wares in exchange for Government oversight of their stills), they generally evaded the Federal agents or challenged them. As Carl Schenck, the German forester, wrote of the late 19th-century moonshiners in western North Carolina, liquor distilleries were hidden in the mountain coves and were "shifted . . . from site to site to avoid discovery." Moonshiners "went about armed, keeping the others in awe and threatening death to any betrayer of their secrets." Federal raids sometimes resulted in bloodshed. Violence was often the penalty for informers and the outcome of discovery of an illegal still.[75]

Family Feuds

The common denominator of bloodshed linked moonshining and feuding in the minds of Appalachian observers. Although in fact the two were sometimes related, feuding stemmed from broader and more basic causes. Feuding has been interpreted by some to have developed from the interfamilial disputes of the Civil War that occurred in and around the Southern Appalachians. Major campaigns and battles took place at Knoxville and Chattanooga, and numerous mountain gaps provided significant passage for both Union and Confederate troops. In John Campbell's words, "the roughness of the country led to a sort of border guerrilla warfare." Throughout the region, mountaineers joined both the Union and Confederate armies, with family members often on opposite sides. Such divisions provoked bitter local hostilities and provided the seeds for lasting feuds. In Madison County, N.C., Union sympathizers "seized the town of Marshall, plundered the stores and committed many acts of violence." In retaliation, a thousand Confederate sympathizers from nearby Buncombe County engaged them in a punishing skirmish. After the war, as political parties developed along lines of Union-Confederate sympathies, such acrimony continued not only as interfamilial feuds, but as partisan rivalry as well.[76]

The most notorious of feuds was that between the Hatfield family of Tug Valley, W.Va., and the McCoys of Pike County, Ky. Beginning in the early 1880's with a series of minor misunderstandings, the feud quickly escalated into violence. Members of each family kidnapped, ambushed, and killed members of the other family with avenging spirit throughout the decade. Both Governor MacCorkle of West Virginia and Governor Bucknew of Kentucky tried to intervene by strengthening law enforcement in the area. The feud continued sporadically until about 1920 when Anderson "Devil Anse" Hatfield, the family patriarch, died of pneumonia.[77]

By the end of the 19th century, outsiders were seeking not only to describe and to change the mountaineer, but also to explain his quaint, peculiar, and sometimes disturbing behavior. Such explanations perpetuated and even enhanced the mountaineer stereotype. Geographical determinism and ethnic origin were most generally accepted as explanations. In 1901, a geographer, Ellen Churchill Semple, in a study of the mountain people of Kentucky, emphasized the Scotch-Irish heritage of the mountaineer and described his behavior as a pattern of adjustments required by the rugged and isolated mountain environment. He was soon widely perceived to be a remnant of pioneer days, a man of pure Anglo-Saxon stock whose culture had been isolated and been preserved by the rugged terrain and inaccessibility of the mountains.[78]

Moonshining and feuding, as examples of mountaineer behavior left over from frontier days, symbolized the independence and lawlessness of the pioneer. Mountain feuding was explained by identifying the mountaineers as Highlanders and relating the feuds to Scottish clan warfare, an idea deriving from James Craighead's *Scotch and Irish Seeds in American Soil,* an 1878 publication popularized by the American Missionary Association. Later, John Campbell attributed both moonshining and feuding to the mountaineer's high degree of individualism: "His dominant trait is independence raised to the fourth power." Geographer Rupert Vance emphasized environmental adaptation as an explanation of moonshining and feuds: "Stimuli to homicide were many where lands were settled by the squatter process and titles were so obscure. . . . "[79]

An alternative view of the mountaineer that developed early was also based on ethnicity. John Fiske, a popular historian of the late 19th century, gave currency to the false idea that virtually all Southern mountaineers were descendants of whites transported to America as servants or criminals in early colonial times.[80] Such a distorted, ignorant view of the mountaineer as Anglo-Saxon criminal made it easier for some to see why feuding and illegal distilling persisted in spite of Christian education and increased law enforcement. This naive view, which was repeated and reinforced in the 20th century by the writing of John Gunther and Arthur Toynbee, achieved a modern stridency in the words of Kentuckian Harry Caudill. Caudill claimed the mountaineer was "the illiterate son of illiterate ancestors," and of debtors, thieves, and orphans who fled the cities of England:

> . . . cast loose in an immense wilderness without basic mechanical or agricultural skills, without the refining, comforting, and disciplining influence of an organized religious order, in a vast land wholly unrestrained by social organization or effective laws, compelled to acquire skills quickly in order to survive, and with a Stone Age savage as his principal teacher.[81]

Investors Transform the Region

The railroads opened the area to investors as well. Some of the investors were northern financiers; some were British investment capitalists whose interest in the region was but a small part of their overseas investments. A few of the capitalists came to the region to stay as did Joseph Silverstein of New York who formed the Gloucester Lumber Co. southwest of Asheville, and Reuben B. Robertson of Canton, Ohio, who managed the Champion Fibre Co. of North Carolina. Most, however, invested in the region only to extract the desired riches, and then withdrew.

The foreign investment and industrial development which followed was frequently hailed as a natural solution to "a whole range of problems . . . resulting from the isolation of Appalachia and the poverty of the mountaineers."[82] Much of the capital investment in the Southern mountains between 1880 and 1900 was justified by a belief that economic development and industrialization were best for the region itself.

The impact this industrial investment was to have on the people of the Southern Appalachians was profound. By 1900 the isolated, self-contained farming existence that had characterized the region was quickly changing and, by 1920, was seriously disrupted. Before 1880, the southern mountaineer made his living directly from the land, and needed only modest amounts of cash, which he could raise from the sale of livestock, trees, or other products from his land. From 1890 on, the timber and coal companies purchased much of the mountaineer's land, gave him a job in a mill, mine, or factory, paid him in cash, brought in canned food and consumer goods for him to buy, and educated him in the ways of the modern world. Industrialization, urbanization, large-scale changes in landownership and land use, as well as deliberate attempts to change the society and culture of the mountaineer, had come to the Southern Appalachians to stay. Two world wars, the Great Depression, the New Deal social programs, TVA, and the introduction of the Federal forest and parks also had major lasting impacts on the area and its people.

Reference Notes

1. 36 Stat. 962 (16 U S C 515, 521); 43 Stat. 653 (16 U.S.C. 471, 505, 515, 564-70).
2. For general discussions of the alternative definitions of the Southern Appalachian region, see Bruce Ergood, "Toward A Definition of Appalachia" in Bruce Ergood and Bruce Kuhre (eds.), *Appalachia: Social Context Past and Present* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University, 1976), pp. 31-41 and Allen Batteau, "Appalachia and the Concept of Culture: A Theory of Shared Misunderstandings," *Appalachian Journal* 7 (Autumn/Winter, 1979-80): 21, 22.
3. John Campbell, *The Southern Highlander and His Homeland* (Lexington: The University of Kentucky Press, 1969), pp. 10-13. Campbell distinguishes a Southern Appalachian region as that part of the Southern Highlands which is south of the New River divide, p. 12.
4. Thomas R. Ford (ed.), *The Southern Appalachian Region: A Survey* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1962).
5. Map published by the Appalachian Regional Commission, January, 1974. The Commission has divided "Appalachia" into Northern, Central, and Southern subregions. Within each of these, there is a "Highlands Area," representing the most mountainous counties of the region.
6. Wilbur Zelinsky, *The Cultural Geography of the United States* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1973), p. 112.
7. Helen M. Lewis, "Subcultures of the Southern Appalachians," *The Virginia Geographer* (Spring 1968):2.
8. Batteau, "Appalachia and the Concept of Culture: A Theory of Shared Misunderstandings":29.
9. This geographic focus includes all the Appalachian National Forests within the Forest Service's Southern Region (R-8), with the exception of the George Washington National Forest. Because it is located north of the New River divide and within a 90-minute drive of Washington, D.C., the George Washington National Forest was felt to belong more properly with a consideration of the Monongahela National Forest in West Virginia, the Allegheny in Pennsylvania and Wayne National Forest in Ohio.
10. 36 Stat. 962; 43 Stat. 653.
11. Some 61,500 acres were purchased for the Blue Ridge Parkway and over 507,000 for the Great Smoky Mountains National Park. Almost 3.5 million acres have been acquired for the Nantahala, Pisgah, Cherokee, Chattahoochee, Daniel Boone, and Jefferson National Forests.
12. Si Kahn, "The National Forests and Appalachia," Cut Cane Associates, 1973, p. 1.
13. Charlton Ogburn, *The Southern Appalachians: A Wilderness Quest* (New York: William Morrow and Co., 1975), pp. 67-72; and Frederick A. Cook, Larry D. Brown, and Jack E. Oliver, "The Southern Appalachians and the Growth of Continents," *Scientific American* 243 (October 1980): 156-169.
14. The three subregions have also been labeled "belts" or "provinces" and have received varying names. The Valley and Ridge subregion for example, has been called The Greater Appalachian Valley, The Newer Appalachians, and The Folded Appalachians. For physiographic descriptions of the three subregions, see John C. Campbell, *The Southern Highlander and His Homeland,* pp. 10-18; Edgar Bingham, "Appalachia: Underdeveloped, Overdeveloped, or Wrongly Developed?" *The Virginia Geographer* VII (Winter 1972): 9; Wallace W. Atwood, *The Physiographic Provinces of North America* (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1940), pp. 109-122; Charles B. Hunt, *National Regions of the United States and Canada* (San Francisco: W.H. Freeman and Co., 1974), pp. 282-299; Thomas R. Ford (ed.), *The Southern Appalachian Region: A Survey,* pp. 1-3; and Rupert B. Vance, *Human Geography of the South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1932), pp. 27, 28.
15. Atwood, *The Physiographic Provinces,* p. 14.
16. The subregion has also been likened to "a wrinkled rug." Cook, *et. al.,* "The Southern Appalachians," p. 160.
17. Ogburn, *The Southern Appalachians,* p. 103.
18. One explanation for the reversal is that, north of Roanoke, the sea advanced and retreated several times over millions of years and, in so doing, created a new drainage pattern. See Atwood, *The Physiographic Provinces,* p. 120.
19. Hunt, *Natural Regions,* pp. 287, 288.
20. Ogburn, *The Southern Appalachians,* 151-171; Ina W. VanNoppen and John J. VanNoppen, *Western North Carolina Since the Civil War* (Boone: Appalachian Consortium Press, 1973), p. 291.
21. Ogburn, *The Southern Appalachians,* pp. 139-150.
22. Campbell, *The Southern Highlander and His Homeland,* pp. 246, 247.
23. Hunt, *Natural Regions,* pp. 297-299.
24. Cook, *et. al.,* "The Southern Appalachians."
25. Roy S. Dickens, Jr., *Cherokee Prehistory: The Pisgah Phase in the Appalachian Summit Region* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1976), pp. 9-15; and Ogburn, *The Southern Appalachians,* p. 55.
26. Ogburn, *The Southern Appalachians,* pp. 10, 11. David S. Walls, in "On the Naming of Appalachia," maintains that DeSoto's discovery of the Appalachians is merely "legend" and that the first European to designate the mountains by their names was Jacques le Moyne de Morgues, a Frenchman, in 1564. J.W. Williamson (ed.), *An Appalachian Symposium* (Boone: Appalachian State University Press, 1977), pp. 56-76.
27. Frederick Jackson Turner, *Rise of the New West, 1819-1829* (New York: Collier Books, 1962), pp. 56-58.
28. Descriptions of the pioneer settlement of the Southern Appalachians are found in Campbell, *The Southern Highlander,* pp. 23-42; John Caruso, *The Appalachian Frontier: America's First Surge Westward* (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Co., Inc., 1959); Vance, *Human Geography of the South;* and Harry Caudill, *Night Comes to the Cumberlands* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1962).
29. Campbell, *The Southern Highlander,* p. 42.
30. Turner, *Rise of the New West,* pp. 84-86.
31. Dickens, *Cherokee Prehistory,* pp. 14, 15.

32. Ogburn, *The Southern Appalachians,* pp. 55-58. See also Kenneth B. Pomeroy and James G. Yoho, *North Carolina Lands: Ownership, Use, and Management of Forest and Related Lands* (Washington: The American Forestry Association, 1964), pp. 92-120; and Duane H. King (ed.), *The Cherokee Indian Nation* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1979).
33. VanNoppen and VanNoppen, *Western North Carolina,* p. 379. Campbell, *The Southern Highlander and His Homeland,* p. 33.
34. Ronald D. Eller, "Land and Family: An Historical View of Preindustrial Appalachia," *Appalachian Journal* 6 (Winter 1979): 84, 86.
35. Ronald D. Eller, "Miners, Millhands, and Mountaineers: The Modernization of the Appalachian South, 1880-1930" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1979), p. 23.
36. VanNoppen and VanNoppen, *Western North Carolina,* pp. 2, 3. Gene Wilhelm, "Folk Geography of the Blue Ridge Mountains," *Pioneer America* (1970): 1, 2.
37. Eller, "Land and Family," p. 85. Eller, "Mountaineers, Miners, and Millhands," p. 20.
38. This and the following demographic description of the Southern Appalachians is based on Bureau of the Census data for 79 mountain counties which represent the core of the region. These counties include:
    Georgia: Banks, Catoosa, Chattooga, Fannin, Gilmer, Gordon, Habersham, Lumpkin, Murray, Rabun, Stephens, Towns, Union, Walker, White, Whitfield;
    Kentucky: Bath, Bell, Clay, Estill, Harlan, Jackson, Knott, Knox, Laurel, Lee, Leslie, Letcher, Menifee, Morgan, Perry, Powell, Pulaski, Rockcastle, Rowan, Whitley, Wolfe;
    North Carolina: Avery, Buncombe, Burke, Caldwell, Cherokee, Clay, Graham, Haywood, Jackson, Macon, McDowell, Madison, Mitchell, Swain, Transylvania, Watauga, Yancey;
    Tennessee: Blount, Carter, Cocke, Greene, Johnson, McMinn, Monroe, Polk, Sevier, Sullivan, Unicoi, Washington;
    Virginia: Bland, Dickenson, Giles, Grayson, Lee, Pulaski, Russell, Scott, Smythe, Tazewell, Washington, Wise, Wythe.
    Data comes from Bureau of the Census, *Twelfth Census of U.S.* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1902).
39. For a full discussion of Middlesboro's founding, see Eller, "Miners, Millhands, and Mountaineers," pp. 130-137.
40. See Note 38.
41. See Note 38.
42. Vance, *Human Geography of the South,* p. 247. Gene Wilhelm, Jr., "Appalachian Isolation: Fact or Fiction?" in J. W. Williamson (ed.), *An Appalachian Symposium* (Boone: Appalachian State University Press, 1977), p. 88.
43. Eller, "Miners, Millhands, and Mountaineers, p. 36, 37; and Jack E. Weller, *Yesterday's People* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1966), pp. 12, 13.
44. Weller, *Yesterday's People,* 38-40.
45. Frank L. Owsley, *Plain Folk of the Old South* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1965), p. 45.
46. Eller, "Miners, Millhands, and Mountaineers," pp. 40-42; Susie Blaylock McDaniel, *Official History of Catoosa County, Georgia 1853-1953* (Dalton, Georgia: Gregory Printing and Office Supply, 1953), p. 195; Goodridge Wilson, *Smythe County History and Traditions* (Kingsport, Tennessee: Kingsport Press, 1932), p.171; and Wilhelm, "Appalachian Isolation," p. 83.
47. Eller, "Miners, Millhands, and Mountaineers," p. 43; and George L. Hicks, *Appalachian Valley* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winson, 1976), pp. 20, 21.
48. Wilhelm, "Appalachian Isolation," p. 88; and Vance, *Human Geography of the South,* p. 249.
49. VanNoppen and VanNoppen, *Western North Carolina,* pp. 276, 277.
50. Wilhelm, "Appalachian Isolation," p. 83.
51. Eller, "Miners, Millhands, and Mountaineers," p. 26.
52. VanNoppen and VanNoppen, *Western North Carolina,* p. 18.
53. Eller, "Miners, Millhands, and Mountaineers," p. 29.
54. Campbell, *The Southern Highlander,* p. 102.
55. VanNoppen and VanNoppen, *Western North Carolina,* p. 27.
56. Eller, "Miners, Millhands, and Mountaineers," p. 65, and Laurel Shackelford and Bill Weinberg, eds., *Our Appalachia* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1977), pp. 23-25.
57. Willis D. Weatherford, ed., *Religion in the Appalachian Mountains: A Symposium* (Berea, Ky.: Berea College, 1955), pp. 35-50.
58. Campbell, *The Southern Highlander,* pp. 170, 171; and VanNoppen and VanNoppen *Western North Carolina,* p. 72.
59. Weatherford, *Religion in the Appalachian Mountains,* pp. 96-98, and Shackelford and Weinberg, *Our Appalachia,* pp. 44-50.
60. Campbell, *The Southern Highlander,* p. 264; L. E. Perry, *McCreary Conquest, A Narrative History* (Whitley City, Ky.: L. E. Perry, 1979), pp. 63-72.
61. Wilma Dykeman, *The French Broad* (New York: Rinehart and Company, 1955), p. 164. See pp. 159-165 for colorful description of Western North Carolina Railroad construction. See also VanNoppen and VanNoppen, *Western North Carolina,* pp. 253-259.
62. Ignatz Pikl, *A History of Georgia Forestry* (Athens: University of Georgia, Bureau of Business and Economic Research, 1966), p. 9.
63. Eller, "Miners, Millhands, and Mountaineers," pp. 114-129.
64. Carl Alwin Schenck, *The Birth of Forestry in America* (Santa Cruz, Calif.: Forest History Society and the Appalachian Consortium, 1974), p. 103.
65. William Haney, *The Mountain People of Kentucky* (Cincinnati: The Robert Clarke Company, 1906), p. 94.
66. VanNoppen and VanNoppen, *Western North Carolina,* p. 265.
67. Ogburn, *The Southern Appalachians,* pp. 18, 19; VanNoppen and VanNoppen, *Western North Carolina,* pp. 40, 378, 379.
68. Charles Dudley Warner, *On Horseback: A Tour in Virginia, North Carolina and Tennessee* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1888), p. 111, 112.

69. Alberta Brewer and Carson Brewer, *Valley So Wild: A Folk History* (Knoxville: East Tennessee Historical Society, 1975), pp. 131-133. VanNoppen and VanNoppen, *Western North Carolina,* p. 260, p. 378; Schenck, *Birth of Forestry in America,* p. 103.

70. John R. Ross, "Conservation and Economy: The North Carolina Geological Survey, 1891-1920," *Forest History* 16 (January 1973): 21; and Judge Watson, "The Economic and Cultural Development of Eastern Kentucky from 1900 to the Present" (Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1963), p. 42.

71. The major source for material on the discovery of the Southern Appalachians and the development of the mountaineer stereotype is Shapiro, *Appalachia On Our Mind.* For mention of writers, see pp. 310-339.

72. Henry D. Shapiro, *Appalachia On Our Mind,* 32, 42.

73. Henry D. Shapiro, "Appalachia and the Idea of America: The Problem of the Persisting Frontier," in Williamson, *An Appalachian Symposium,* pp. 43-55.

74. Esther Kellner, *Moonshine: Its History and Folklore* (New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1971), p. 78; VanNoppen and VanNoppen, *Western North Carolina,* pp. 273, 274. A description of legal distilling in Kentucky occurs in Shackelford and Weinberg, eds., *Our Appalachia,* pp. 102-108.

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76. Campbell, *The Southern Highlanders and Their Homeland,* p. 97; VanNoppen and VanNoppen, *Western North Carolina,* pp. 15-17.

77. Otis K. Rice, *The Hatfields and the McCoys* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1978); and Lawrence D. Hatfield, *The True Story of the Hatfield and McCoy Feud* (Charleston: Jarrett Printing Company, 1944). Shackelford and Weinberg, eds., *Our Appalachia,* p. 60.

78. Ellen Churchill Semple, "The Anglo-Saxons of the Kentucky Mountains: A Study in Anthropogeography," *Geographical Journal* 17 (June 1901): 588-623. Shapiro, *Appalachia On Our Mind,* Chapter 3.

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80. John Fiske, *Old Virginia and Her Neighbors, II* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin and Co., 1897), pp. 311-321.

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Mountaineers and Rangers

A History of Federal Forest Management in the Southern Appalachians 1900-81

Chapter I

Conservation Movement Comes to the Southern Mountains

Beginning during the 1880's, the Southern Appalachian mountains became the scene of a major logging boom which continued until the 1920's. It was begun and sponsored almost wholly with capital from outside the region. Within four decades, the logging boom dramatically altered the landownership pattern and influenced the economic and social structure of the Southern mountains. In addition, large-scale logging caused extensive damage to the mountain environment which drew the attention of conservationists in the region and in Washington, D.C. A movement to secure the protection of the Southern Appalachian forests in National Parks or National Forests helped lead to the passage of the Weeks Act in 1911, and with that, the Federal Government came to the region as a major holder and manager of land.

The Growth of Logging

The logging industry started gradually, with scattered investments. In the early 1880's Alexander A. Arthur arrived in Newport, Tenn., and purchased 10 square miles of forest land for the Scottish Carolina Timber and Land Co. With funds supplied by backers in Glasgow and in Cape Town, South Africa, he constructed a sawmill at Newport and built a huge boom across the Pigeon River above the town. French Canadian loggers and rivermen came to eastern Tennessee for this enterprise. For 3 years the operation was successful; however, in 1886 a storm flooded the Pigeon River, broke the boom, and swept away a great number of ash, cherry, oak and yellow (tulip) poplar logs, and the company closed for lack of additional capital.[1]

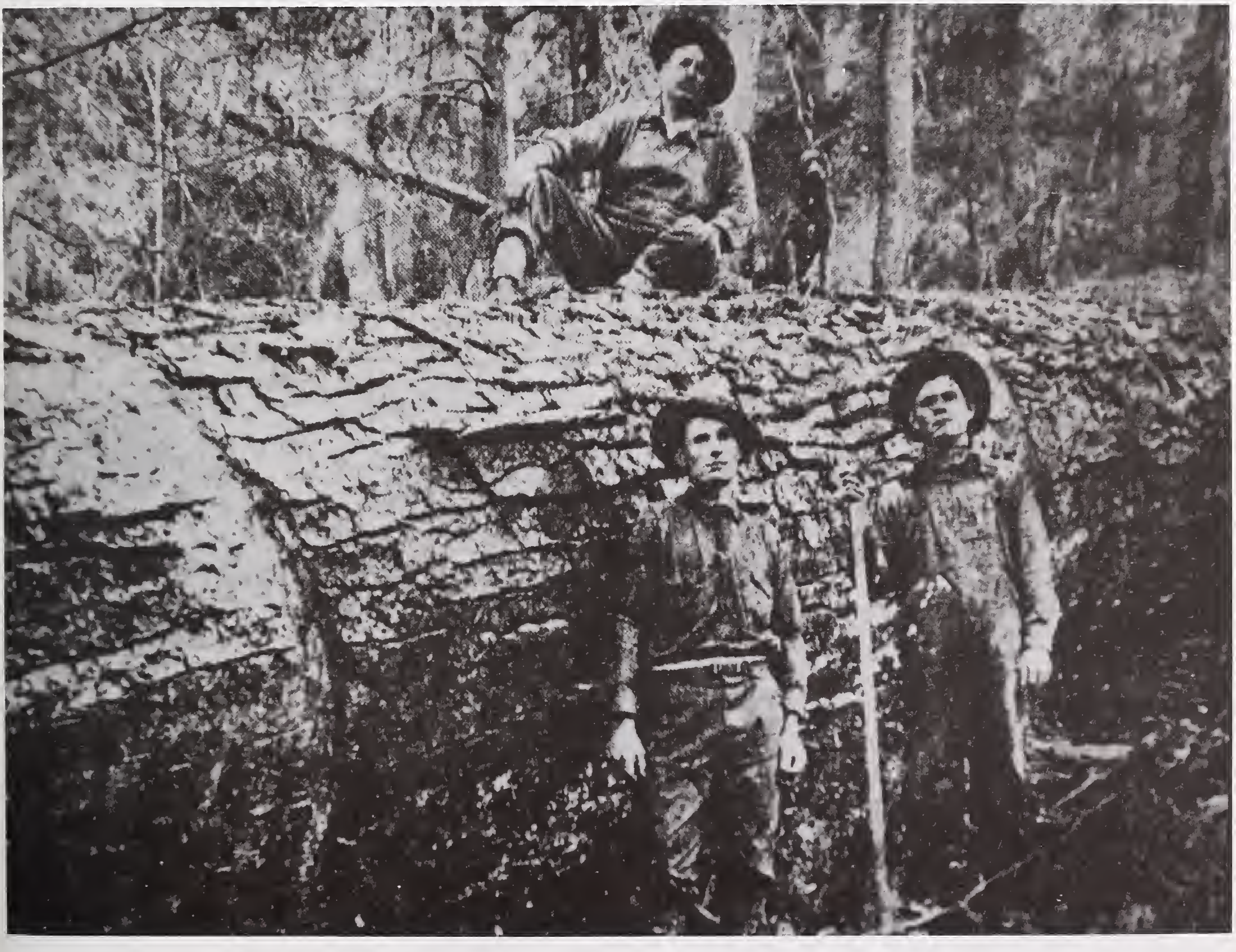


Figure 9.—Three sawyers pausing after felling this huge white oak tree and bucking it into mammoth 12-foot logs with a two-man crosscut saw (not visible). A Southern Appalachian forest scene about 1895, indicating the gigantic trees common there before the extensive lumbering activity of the late 1800's. (Photo courtesy of Shelley Mastran Smith)

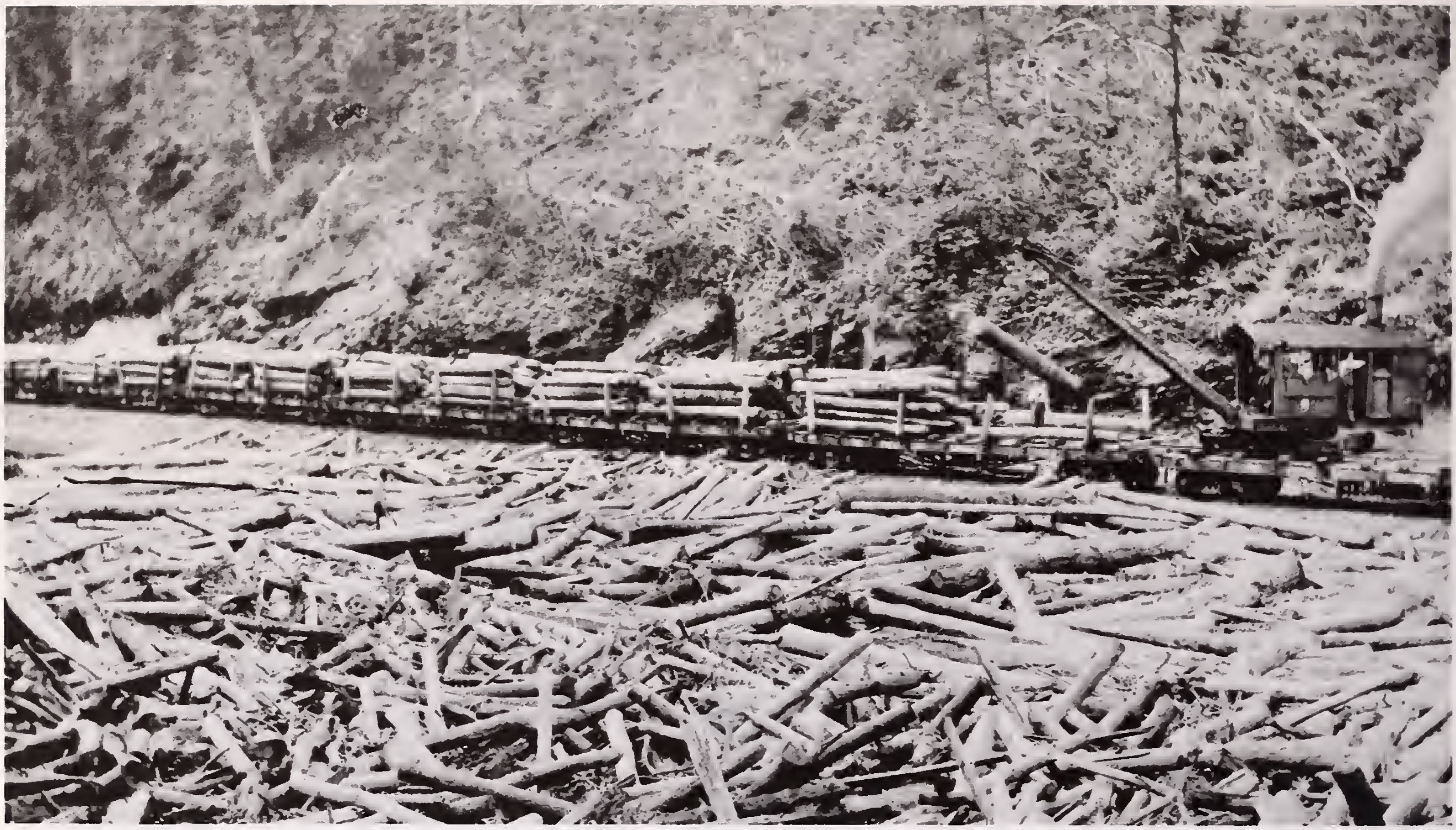


Figure 10.—Steam engine loading railroad flatcars at log boom on Big Lost Creek, Polk County, southeastern Tennessee, just above Hiwassee River and line of Louisville & Nashville Railroad, near old mill town of Probst, not far from present town of Reliance, in Unicoi Mountains. This area was part of the new Cherokee National Forest Purchase Unit when photo was taken in February 1912. Logs are largely yellow-poplar, which shows good reproduction in this highland region of heavy annual rainfall. Timberlands of the Prendergast Company, which also owned the flatcars and the logging railroad. (National Archives: Record Group 95G-10832A)

Though this first major venture failed, others were not deterred. H.N. Saxton, an Englishman, organized the Sevierville Lumber Co. in the late 1880's, and later started Saxton and Co., a firm exporting hardwoods to Europe.[2] As the forests of the Northeast and the Great Lakes region were depleted, more and more northern lumber companies came to the Southern Appalachians. Speculators came too, to take advantage of the rich resources and low land costs. Businesses were organized for the explicit purpose of buying land and timber.

In the 1890's the timber speculators began in earnest, and an astonishing number of timber companies moved into the southern mountains. In North Carolina, the Unaka Timber Co. of Knoxville, Tenn., was active in Buncombe, Mitchell, Madison and Yancey Counties, while the Crosby Lumber Co. from Michigan operated in Graham County. In 1894 the Foreign Hardwood Log Co. of New York and the Dickson-Mason Lumber Co. of Illinois made extensive purchases in Swain County. The Tuckaseigie Lumber Co. purchased 75,000 acres of land in Macon, Jackson, and Swain Counties. Other firms included the Toxaway Tanning Co., the Gloucester Lumber Co., the Brevard Tanning Co., the Asheville Lumber and Manufacturing Co., and the Asheville French Broad Lumber Co. After 1900 the Montvale Lumber Co., the Bemis Lumber Co., and the Kitchen Lumber Co. bought large tracts in the North Carolina Great Smokies. The largest North Carolina firms were Champion Fibre Co. which came from Ohio to Canton, N.C., in 1905, and the William Ritter Lumber Co. from West Virginia. The Ritter firm, the largest lumber company in the Southern Appalachians, owned almost 200,000 acres of land in North Carolina alone.[3]

New timber companies also acquired land and timber rights in eastern Kentucky, eastern Tennessee, and northern Georgia. The Burt-Brabb and Swann-Day lumber companies, early developers in eastern Kentucky, were followed by the Kentucky River Hardwood Lumber Co., which at one point owned over 30,000 acres of forest land. Watson G. Caudill operated a lumber company that was active in several counties. However, it was not until the William Ritter Co. moved in that truly extensive and long-term operations began in the eastern counties of the State. The Ritter companies were so large and enterprising that they built their own railroads after the Norfolk and Western Railroad refused to construct lines needed for their business.[4] The Ritter Co. also purchased acreage in the mountains of eastern Tennessee.

The Little River Lumber Co. became a major landowner in the Great Smoky Mountains, with over 86,000 acres near Clingman's Dome. The Norwood Lumber Co., the Vestal Lumber and Manufacturing Co., and the Pennsylvania-based Babcock Lumber Co. also bought land in eastern Tennessee. The Gennett Lumber Co., organized in Nashville in 1901, speculated in land and timber in Tennessee, South Carolina, Georgia, and North Carolina for most of the 20th century. The Gennett Lumber Co. was one of the most prominent in northern Georgia, along with the Pfister-Vogel Land and Leather Co. of Milwaukee, which actively purchased land there after 1903, for about $2.00 an acre.[5]

Timberlands Sell Cheaply

Prices paid by the timber companies for land in the southern mountains were astonishingly low. The agents of northern and foreign firms found a people unaccustomed to dealing in cash and unfamiliar with timber and mineral rights and deeds. The companies bought up huge tracts of land for small sums. When local opposition to such purchases began to develop, they switched to buying only timber or coal rights. Some lumber companies even purchased selected trees. The mountaineer, offered more cash than he had seen before in one transaction, found it difficult to refuse an offer, especially since he usually had no idea of the fair value of the land or timber. Enormous yellow- (tulip) poplars and stands of white and red oak and black cherry were sold for 40 to 75 cents a tree.[6]

Ronald D. Eller tells how much Appalachian mountain land was acquired:

> The first timber and mineral buyers who rode into the mountains were commonly greeted with hospitality by local residents. Strangers were few in the remote hollows, and a traveler offered the opportunity for conversation and a change from the rhythms of daily life. The land agent's routine was simple. Riding horseback into the countryside he would search the coves and creek banks for valuable timber stands or coal outcroppings, and having found his objective, he would approach the cabin of the unsuspecting farmer. [The farmer's cordial] greeting was usually followed by an invitation to share the family's meal and rude accommodations for the night. After dinner, while entertaining the family with news of the outside world, the traveler would casually produce a bag of coins and offer to purchase a tract of 'unused ridgeland' which he had noticed while journeying through the area. Such an offer was hard to refuse in most rural areas, where hard money was scarce, life was difficult, and opportunities few.[7]

Thus the money often provided a welcome opportunity for a family to leave a farm that had been worn out for years. In northern Georgia especially, the farm population was greater than the land could reasonably support, and people sold willingly.[8] In other areas, people were more reluctant to sell to outsiders. Some unscrupulous firms enlisted the aid of local

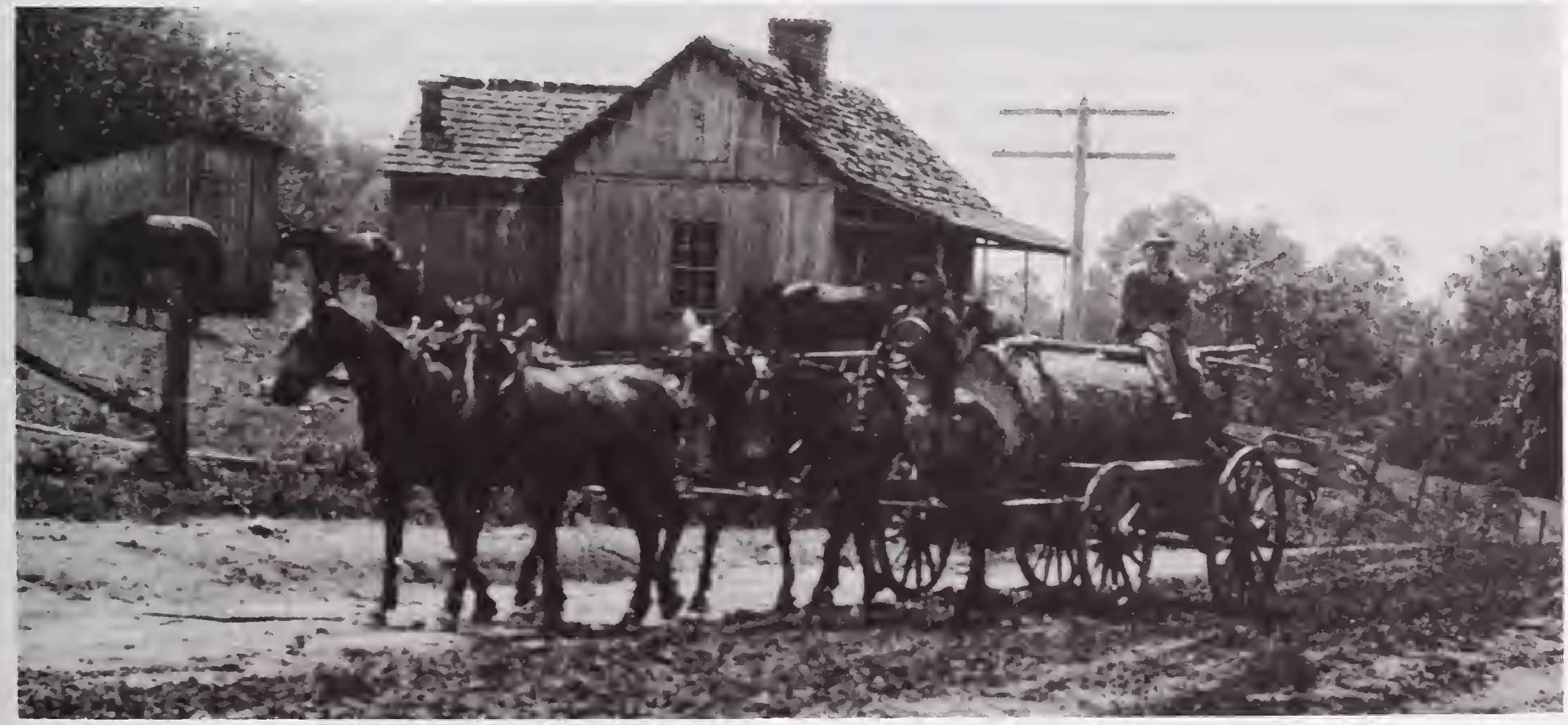


Figure 11.—A team of four horses and mules pulling a flatbed wagon carrying a large white oak log to the sawmill along a dirt road near Jonesboro, Washington County, Tenn., in July 1915. Log probably came from Locust Mountain area west of Johnson City, not far from the Unaka National Forest, now a part of the Cherokee. (NA:95G-23262A)

merchants, who would make purchases for "dummy" corporations.

Sometimes land with inexact or missing titles was simply taken from the mountaineers, who often had failed to obtain formal title to their land. This "unclaimed" land could be taken by anyone willing to stake a claim, survey the land, and pay a fee to the State. Other claims were clouded, or not properly surveyed.[9] In some counties, courthouse records had been destroyed by fire, creating uncertainty about ownership. Thus, a timber company could move into an area, conduct its own surveys, and file claim for lands that the mountaineer had long used and thought were his. Litigation was expensive and time-consuming; most residents had neither the sophistication nor the resources to carry a case through court proceedings. In Kentucky, the State legislature passed an act in 1906 that permitted speculators who had held claims and had paid property taxes for 5 years to take such property from previous claimants who had not paid taxes.[10] Thus, rising property taxes created by speculation worked to the advantage of the corporation and against the original claimant, who probably paid low taxes to start with and could not afford an increase. These processes were gradual, but they marked the beginning of the disestablishment of the mountaineer, and further alteration of the mountain economy.

Timber Cutting Often Delayed

Once the land was acquired, timber companies often did not cut the timber immediately. Most of the Pfister-Vogel lands of northern Georgia were never cut by the firm. The Gennett brothers bought and sold land for decades, cutting over parts, and waiting for good or better lumber prices on others. The Cataloochia Lumber Co. lands in Tennessee were sold to the Pigeon River Lumber Co., and in turn were bought by Champion Lumber Co. The firm of William Whitmer and Sons purchased tracts in North Carolina which it deeded to the Whitmer-Parsons Pulp and Lumber Co., which later sold the lands to the Suncrest Lumber Co., a Whitmer-backed operation.[11]

Other outside firms bought land, timber, or mineral rights for speculation, or for possible use. For example, the Gennetts bought an 11,000-acre tract from the Tennessee Iron and Coal Co.; the Consolidation Coal Co. owned vast tracts in Kentucky, and employed a forester to manage those lands.

At one point, Fordson Coal Co., a subsidiary of the Ford Motor Co. owned about half of Leslie County, Ky., and several land development companies purchased extensively in the mountains of northern Georgia.[12] Such speculation was to inflate the value of all land in the region, as illustrated in the following comments by a Forest Service purchasing agent who came to the Southern Appalachians in 1912:

> This is a virgin timber county [the Nantahala purchase area] and about three years ago the big lumber companies, seeing their present supplies in other regions running low, came in here and quietly bought up large "key" areas of timberland. They are now holding these at prices which are more nearly compared with lands in regions where railroad developement [*sic*] is more favorable . . . The withdrawal of these large bodies has enhanced the value of the smaller tracts . . .[13]

Between 1890 and the First World War, a great deal of timber was cut on purchased lands, and the economic impact was felt throughout the southern mountains. The years 1907 to 1910 were the years of peak activity. Throughout the region, lumber production rose from 800 million board feet in 1899 to over 900 million board feet in 1907.[14] In 1910, the number of lumber mills in Georgia reached almost 2,000; a decade later it had fallen to under 700. Individual tracts yielded vast quantities of lumber: in 1909, one 20,000-acre tract in the Big Sandy Basin produced 40 million board feet of tulip (yellow-) poplar, while in 1912, the mountains around Looking Glass Rock in North Carolina yielded 40,000 board feet of tulip (yellow-) poplar per acre.[15].

Logging Boom Displaces Farmers

The social and economic impact of the logging boom on the peoples of the Southern Appalachians was lasting. For decades small firms and individuals had engaged in selective cutting throughout the region without appreciably changing the economy, the structure of the labor force, or the size of the forests. Now, within a decade or two, the landownership pattern of the southern mountains changed drastically. As mountain lands were sold to the timber interests, farms and settlements were abandoned. As Ron Eller has written:

> Whereas mountain society in the 1880's had been characterized by a diffuse pattern of open-country agricultural settlements located primarily in the fertile valleys and plateaus, by the turn of the century the population had begun to shift into non-agricultural areas and to concentrate around centers of industrial growth.[16]

By 1910, vast tracts of mountain land, which had previously been held by privately scattered mountain farmers, had fallen into the hands of absentee landowners, and towns were becoming important centers of population. Although some mountaineers remained on the land as tenants, sharecroppers, caretakers, or squatters, many were displaced.

The changing pattern of landownership was reflected in changes in population and acreage devoted to farming. The population growth of some mountain counties slowed considerably by 1910, and a few actually lost population. For example, Macon and Graham Counties, N.C., which had grown at a rate faster than the State between 1880 and 1900, experienced almost no growth between 1900 and 1910. Over the same decade, Rabun and Union Counties, Ga., lost 11.5

percent and 18.4 percent of their populations respectively. Similarly, both number of farms and farm acreage declined in areas where heavy outside investment had occurred. Between 1900 and 1910, in the counties of extreme northern Georgia, southwestern North Carolina, and southeastern Tennessee, the number of acres in farms dropped roughly 20 percent. In Rabun County, Ga., the number of acres in farms declined 40 percent over the decade.[17]

As the timber companies moved into the region, numerous logging camps and milling towns were established. These centers absorbed the mountain people who had sold their lands, and attracted outsiders eager to benefit from the logging boom. Over 600 company towns are believed to have been established in the southern mountains in 1910, most of which became permanent parts of the landscape.[18] Logging settlements and mill towns circled the Great Smokies: Fontana, Bryson City, and Ravensford, N.C.; Rittertown, Gatlinburg, Elkmont, and Townsend, Tenn.[19] By 1911, Tellico Plains, Tenn., with a population of about 2,000, discovered itself a "busy little city," boosted by the heavy demand for the area's timber. Probably the most famous mill town was Canton, in Haywood County, N.C., created by Champion Fibre Co. In 1905, Champion had bought timberlands along the Pigeon River and built a large flume from the site to the town, about 15 miles away. Carl Schenck wrote about the operation some years later: "At the upper inlet of the flume a snug village with a church and a school was planned. The whole scheme was the most gigantic enterprise which western North Carolina had seen."[20]

Numerous temporary logging camps were established to shelter the thousands of timber company employees. Many of these flourished for several years before being abandoned. Although the lumber companies employed local men, they also imported timber crews from the North and overseas, sometimes hundreds of laborers at one time from their camps in Pennsylvania, New York, or Michigan. A logistical network of support personnel was needed to maintain a lumber camp; thus, building and servicing the camps provided labor for many mountain families. Local men also lived in the logging camps for a few weeks or months at a time while maintaining the family farm. For several years, lumbering provided steady, dependable employment for thousands of mountaineers.

For this reason, although logging helped to disestablish the mountaineer, its social impact was not nearly so destructive as that of coal mining. The southern mountaineer could work in lumbering without relinquishing his life to the company employing him; many of the lumber camps were never intended to be permanent and did not demand that a laborer give up his home for work. Thus,

> the immediate effects of lumbering were not especially destructive. In many respects the operations suited already established work habits. Nor were wasteful methods likely to disturb a people who traditionally viewed the forests as a barrier to be destroyed whenever the need for crop land demanded.[21]

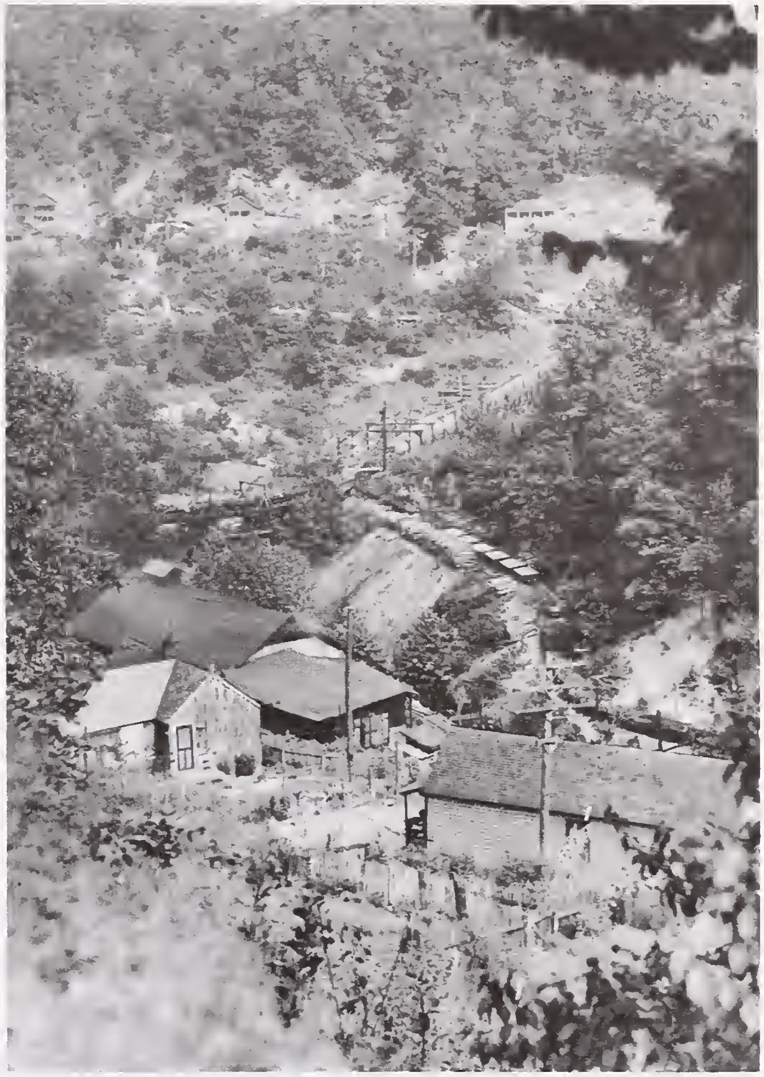


Figure 12.—Barthell Mine of Stearns Coal and Lumber Company at Paunch Creek in Stearns (then Laurel) Ranger District, Daniel Boone (then called Cumberland) National Forest, McCreary County, Ky., in 1940. Note mining camp houses, and stacks of mine props along railroad. (NA:95G-400254)

Nevertheless, in bringing industrial capitalism and absentee landownership to the Southern Appalachians, the lumber boom altered the region's economy, and made a lasting mark upon its landscape.

Mining Boom Destructive to Land

The penetration of the mountains by railroads was a key unlocking the region's mineral wealth, as it had the region's timber. In McCreary County, Ky., for example,

> a virtual wilderness of untouched and unwanted wild lands . . . considered worthless for generations, overnight aroused the interest of the large corporations and land speculators whose agents invaded the territory on the heels of the new railroad . . .[22]

As with timber lands, the sale of mountain lands to coal company agents was usually done willingly, even if unscrupulous methods sometimes were used. In Kentucky, where the Stearns Coal and Lumber Co. bought thousands of homesteads beginning in the late 1890's, William Kinne, the Stearns land agent, was received warmly and came to be regarded with respect and even endearment.[23] Nevertheless, the transfer of landownership to land and development companies in the 1880's and 1890's insured that the control of the mining industry, and much of the profit from it, would flow outside the region.

Mineral developments in the Southern Appalachians included mica, iron, copper, manganese, and coal mining. Mica mining flourished for a time around the turn of the century in North Carolina, and then declined as mica was replaced by other substances. Some mica mining continues, but it is a comparatively small business.

Between the end of the Civil War and about 1910, an iron and copper industry based on locally produced coal, iron ore, copper ore, sulfur, and limestone grew up in eastern Tennessee. Although railroad construction at first improved the market for iron, the expansion of the national transportation network eventually drove the regional producers out of business. Limitations in the quality and quantity of iron ore also were a factor. By World War I, little remained of the iron industry that had flourished earlier in Chattanooga, Ducktown, Rockwood, and Dayton.[24]

In spite of these mineral developments, it is coal mining that most significantly altered the economy and society of the mountains. From 1900 to 1920 the increasing national demand for coal led to the penetration of the Great Lakes market by Southern Appalachian coal producers and to the rapid development and, ultimately, overdevelopment of the mountain coal fields. It was comparatively cheap and easy to extract coal by strip-mining from seams in the mountainsides. The most important requirement was a large supply of cheap labor.[25]

Although large areas of accessible mountain land were affected by the timber boom, coal and other forms of mining at first affected only individual isolated valleys, chiefly in Kentucky and Tennessee. However, the impact of mining was more permanent. Timber companies would "cut and get out," but mining companies, working rich and extensive seams of coal, would remain for years. Unlike the logging camps, the mining towns became of necessity the permanent homes of those who came to work the mines. Mine operators developed company towns partly to provide housing in isolated areas, and partly to gain control of the labor force. Workers often had no alternative to the company town because the coal company owned all the land for miles around.

To the coal entrepreneur, a local mountaineer who remained on his own "home place" was an unreliable worker. He would take time off for spring planting, and several times a year he would go hunting. He might also take off from work for a funeral or a family reunion. Once a worker was housed in the company town, however, he could be disciplined more effectively because, if he lost his job in the mine, he would be evicted from his house at the same time. Also, most company towns did not permit independent stores to operate. Workers were generally in debt for purchases made at the company-owned store. In many towns even a garden patch to supplement the store-bought food was, for lack of space, impossible.

When the timber boom began to slacken just after World War I, mountaineers who had been dependent on work in the logging camps and sawmills moved into the coal mining areas of the mountains to find work. Many went across the crest of the Appalachians from North Carolina and Virginia into Kentucky to the coalfields of the Cumberlands. Mountaineers were also faced with competition for jobs, when outsiders, including blacks from the Deep South, as well as European immigrants, were imported to enlarge the labor force.

Squalid Company Towns

The coal industry in the Southern Appalachians continued to grow until 1923. However, throughout the 1920's the coal producers maintained their competitive advantage by wage reductions. The cut-throat competition in the coal industry discouraged investment in improvements for the company towns. Many of these hastily constructed communities grew increasingly squalid. Miners moved frequently, hoping for better housing and working conditions at another mine.

Mining was destructive to the environment, even in the early days. The demand for pit props, poles, and railroad ties contributed to the exploitation of the surrounding forests. The mines produced slag heaps and acid mine runoff which severely damaged streams and wildlife. The company towns had no facilities for sewage and refuse disposal, so human waste and trash heaps polluted the creeks, causing serious health hazards. One particularly blighted area, perhaps the largest and most notorious in the United States, was near Ducktown, Polk County, Tenn., and McCaysville, Fannin County, Ga. There, the acid fumes from the smelting and refining of copper and iron had destroyed thousands of acres of the mountains' entire vegetative cover. Erosion was severe from the bare slopes, and heavy silting occurred in the main channel of the Tennessee River, 45 miles to the west.[26] Yet decades went by before such devastating impacts of mining attracted wide attention.

The impact of largescale logging on the Southern Appalachians in the years after 1890 was not only economic and social. It encouraged fires, erosion, and floods that drew national attention to the region and sparked legislation authorizing most of the eastern National Forests.

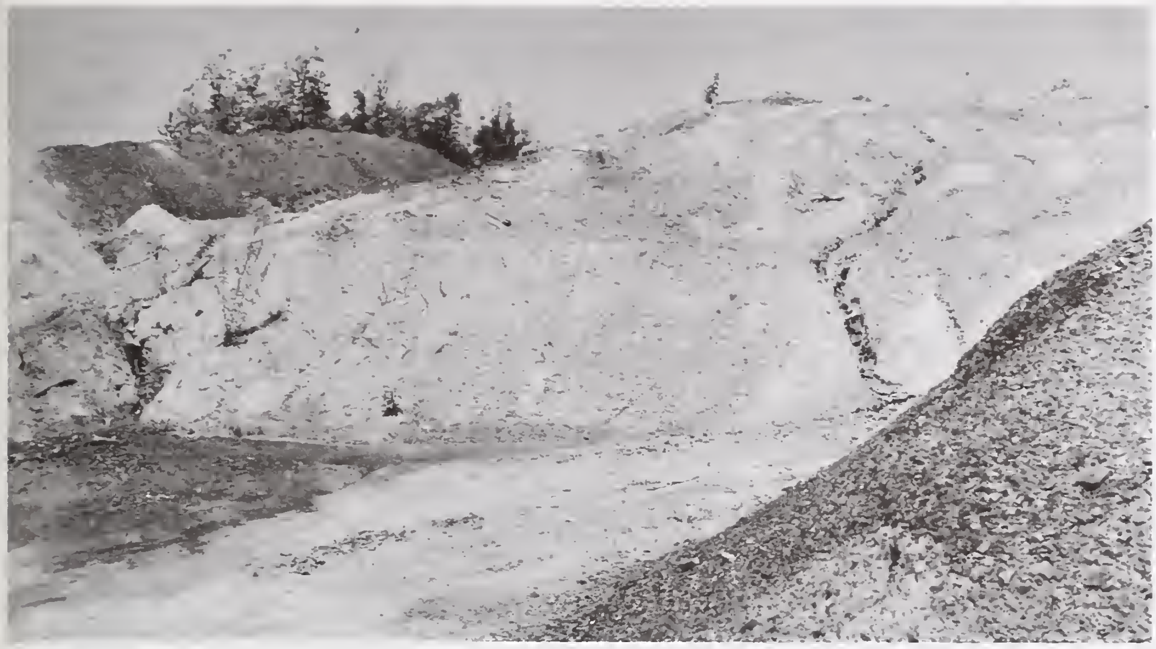


Figure 13.—"Spoil banks" of raw acid subsoil, left over from strip-mining of shallow seams of soft coal 5 years earlier. McCreary County, Ky., Daniel Boone (then Cumberland) National Forest, July 1955. (Forest Service photo F-478950)

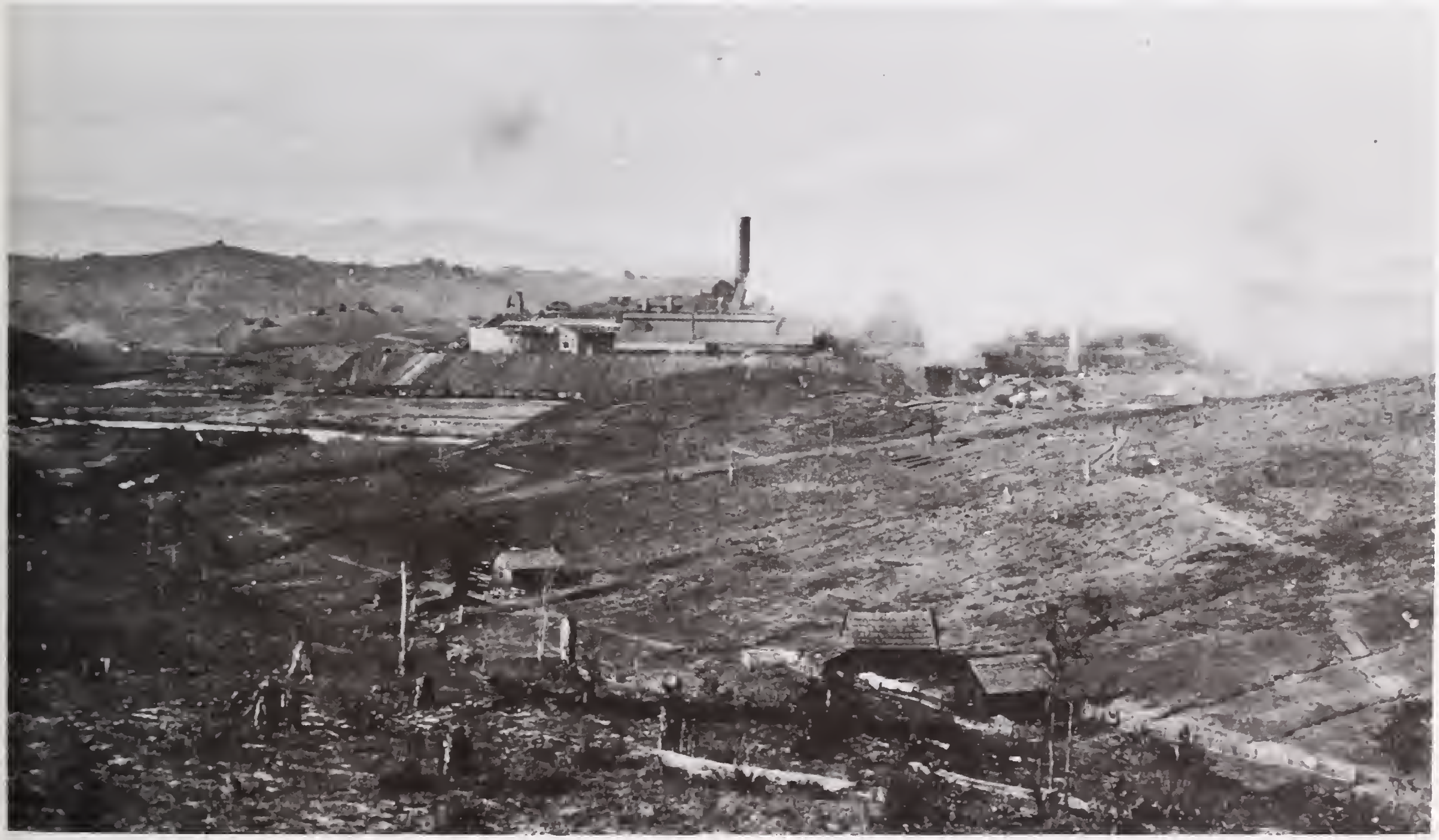


Figure 14.—Smelter of Tennessee Copper Company at Copper Hill-McCaysville on Tennessee-Georgia State line in Southern Appalachian Highlands along Ocoee River. When photo was taken in September 1905, plant was undergoing great expansion. Forest devastation from sulfur fumes of smokestacks was already evident. Area is near the edges of three National Forests and three States. Acid fumes from this and other smelters in the "Copper Basin" destroyed timber and wildlife on thousands of acres of forests and caused severe soil erosion for many years, muddying waters of the Tennessee River, more than 40 miles distant, before operations ceased. (NA:95G-63040)

In terms of both investment and impact, logging operations in the mountains actually occurred in two phases. The first, roughly from 1880 to 1900, was characterized by low investment, "selective" cutting (usually "high-grading"), and a spatial separation between timbering operations and milling. The second phase, beginning around 1900, peaking in 1909, and lasting into the 1920's, involved a higher level of investment, heavy cutting, and the construction of rail lines and mills thoughout the mountain forests. It was with the latter stage that environmental damage became acute.

In the early days, only the largest and highest quality trees were cut: cherry, ash, walnut, oak, and yellow- (tulip) poplar, often as large as 25 feet in circumference. Although it is difficult to imagine today, trees were felled that were larger in diameter than an average man stands. Some portable sawmills were brought into the mountains in the earlier years, but logs from these enormous trees were usually transported to a mill, some miles distant, by horse, oxen, or water. Typically, log splash dams were built on the shallow mountain streams so that many logs could be moved at one time. Logs were rolled into the lakes formed behind the dams, and with a buildup from rain or melting snow, the dams were opened to let the logs cascade down the mountains. From wider places on the river, trees—as many as 40 to 120 at a time—were lashed together to form rafts, which were piloted downriver to the mills.[27]

Elbert Herald reminisced about this kind of logging for the compilers of *Our Appalachia.* As a boy, Herald logged with his father in Leslie County, Ky., between 1922 and 1930. His experiences are typical of the small local lumbering operations that went on before, during, and after the big timber boom.

> I was eleven years old when I moved to Leslie County. It was a very isolated country up there, mind you, I said this was in 1922: there was not one foot of highway, there was not one foot of railroad. My father, he looked around and there was plenty of hard work to get done, and we went to work cutting logs.
>
> There wasn't any saw mill around to sell them at closer than Beattyville, a right smart piece away. There was a number of companies we would contact [to] get a contract for so many logs . . .
>
> Walnut and white oak at that time was best. We would get $35 a thousand [board feet] for that, but when it come down to beech and smaller grades we done well to get $25 a thousand.
>
> [We] cut roads through the hills and hauled our logs down to the riverbanks with work oxens and horses. When we got [the logs] to the river we would raft them together and buyers would come along buying. If it was real big logs—anywhere from 24 to 28 inches [in diameter]—we would take about 65 logs. If they were smaller logs—anywhere from 18 to 22 inches—we'd take 75 or 80 on a raft, which would amount to anywhere from 8 to 10 thousand board feet, depending on the length of the logs.[28]

Although logging was hard work and timber prices were not high, Herald explained that it was the only way to make money at that time. The market for farm crops was dismal.

Although this kind of logging was careless and destructive, its environmental impact was minor compared to the intense logging of the boom period. Small local lumber operations cut trees very selectively, according to size, quality, and proximity to a stream. Relatively few men were engaged in lumbering at first, and the visible effects of milling were scattered and removed from the source of supply. It had been estimated that even in 1900 most of the area was wooded and at least 10 percent of the Southern Appalachian region remained in virgin timber.[29]

Before that year, however, distinct changes began. Out-of-state and foreign investors began purchasing large tracts of mountain land, and rail lines were built into previously inaccessible valleys. With railroads, mills could be located close to the source of supply; trees had to be transported only short distances, and finished lumber could be carried to the market.

One of the most impressive railroad projects in the mountains was that of the Little River Lumber Co. Chartered in 1901, the Little River Railroad was a standard-gauge line from Maryville, Tenn., at the southwestern corner of the Great Smokies, to the mill at Townsend, then running 18 miles up the gorge of the Little River to the base of the timber operations. The rail construction greatly increased the ease and scale of operations. By 1905, the mill was cutting about 60,000 board feet of wood per day. This area is now well inside the Park, not far from the cross-Park highway, U.S. Route 441.

Other methods, too, were devised to further largescale tree removal; among them were inclined railways controlled by yarding machines, and overhead cable systems, both used with considerable success in the Smokies.[30] To facilitate log transportation, larger flumes and splash dams were built. A concrete splash dam built across the Big Sandy River in Dickenson County, Va., was probably the largest. Completed in 1909, it was about 360 feet high and 240 feet across, with five flumes, each 40 feet wide, through which the pent-up logs tumbled.[31] The dam enabled the Yellow Poplar Lumber Co. to run logs to Cattletsburg, Ky., in record time; within 10 years, the merchantable hardwood timber supply of the Big Sandy Basin had been virtually exhausted.

Wasteful Cutting Damages Forests

Throughout the region, as the scale of logging increased, size selectivity in cutting declined:

> The depletion of the forests is revealed by the rapidly changing cutting standards as culling became the rule rather than the exception. In 1885 few logs under 30 inches in diameter were cut. Ten years later the usual cutting was 24 inches. By 1900 the average limit had dropped to 21 inches. By 1905 lumberman were taking chestnut and oak only 15 inches on the stump.[32]

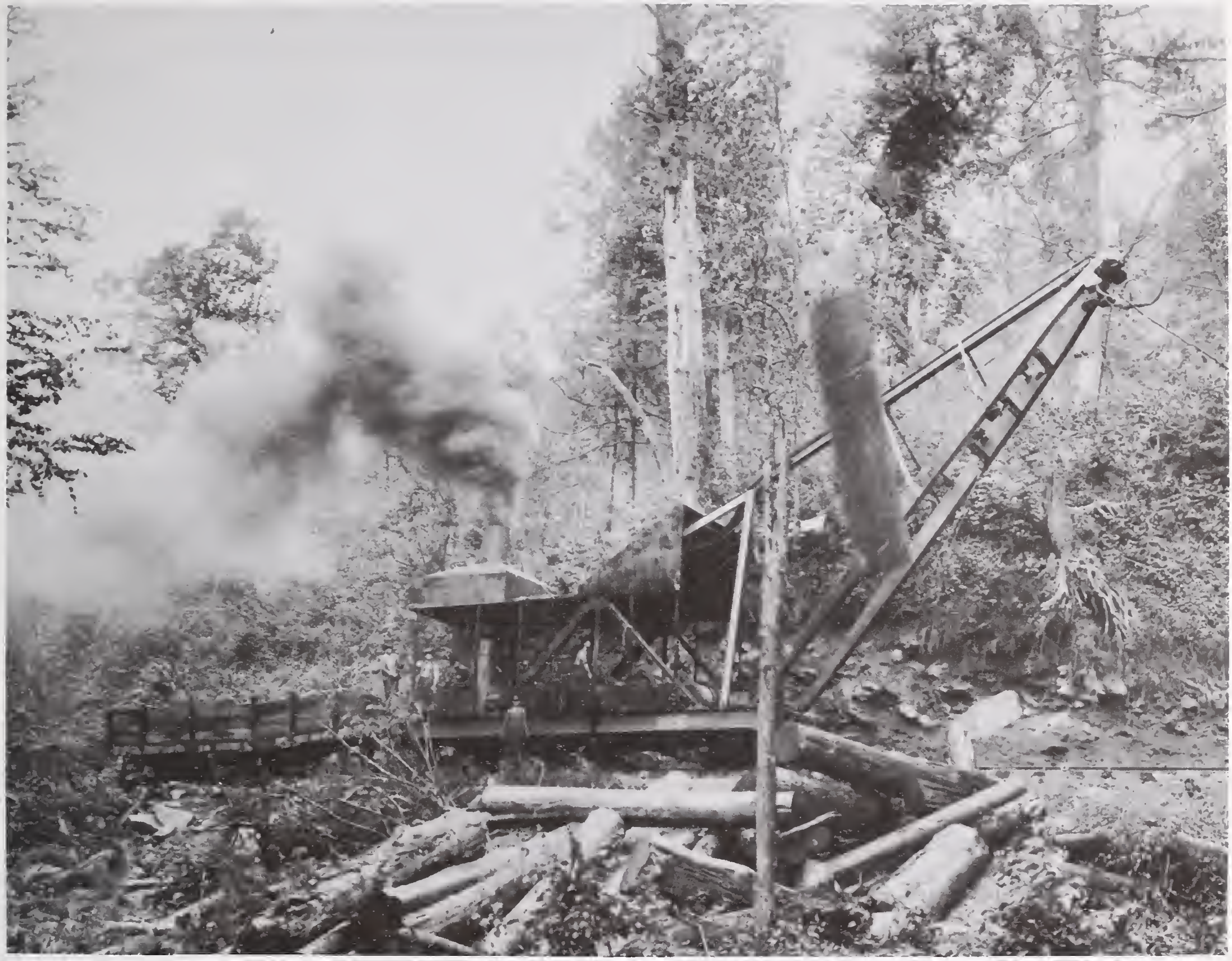


Figure 15.—Steam overhead cable skidder on rails bringing in logs from two facing slopes on tract of Little River Lumber Company in Great Smoky Mountains, Sevier County, Tenn., in 1913. (NA:95G-15507A)

Not only was there a decline in the average size cut, there was a shift as well in the species of trees harvested. As the best cherry, ash, and oak were depleted, the demand for hemlock and spruce grew. Both were used for pulpwood in the manufacture of paper products, and during World War I spruce was used to build the first fighter airplanes. Chestnut, which the leather goods industry had used profitably for its byproduct, tannin, came into increasing demand when a process was developed by Omega Carr to manufacture pulp from chestnut chips, once the tannin was removed. The Champion Paper and Fibre Co., mill in Canton, N.C., became a major producer of pulp from chestnut wood—until this source disappeared after the chestnut blight reached the area in 1920.

Throughout the logging boom, trees were harvested with little regard for other resources or future timber supplies. Young growth was damaged and smaller limbs and brush were left to ignite untended in dry spells, destroying the humus and remaining ground cover, preventing absorption of rain and snow. In areas of heavy logging, particularly on steep slopes, the soil became leached and erosion was often severe.

It is difficult, if not impossible, to assess the amount or lasting effects of this damage. Even at its peak, the timber industry left large sections of remote mountain forests little touched.[33] Parts of the Great Smokies, and much of far southwestern North Carolina (later the Nantahala National Forest) remained in "virgin" timber. However, in more accessible mountain regions—southern Union, Fannin, and Rabun counties, Ga.; northeastern Tennessee; near Mt. Mitchell and Asheville, N.C.,—whole mountainsides were cut over and burned, hillsides were eroded, and dried-up autumn streams became raging rivers in the spring.

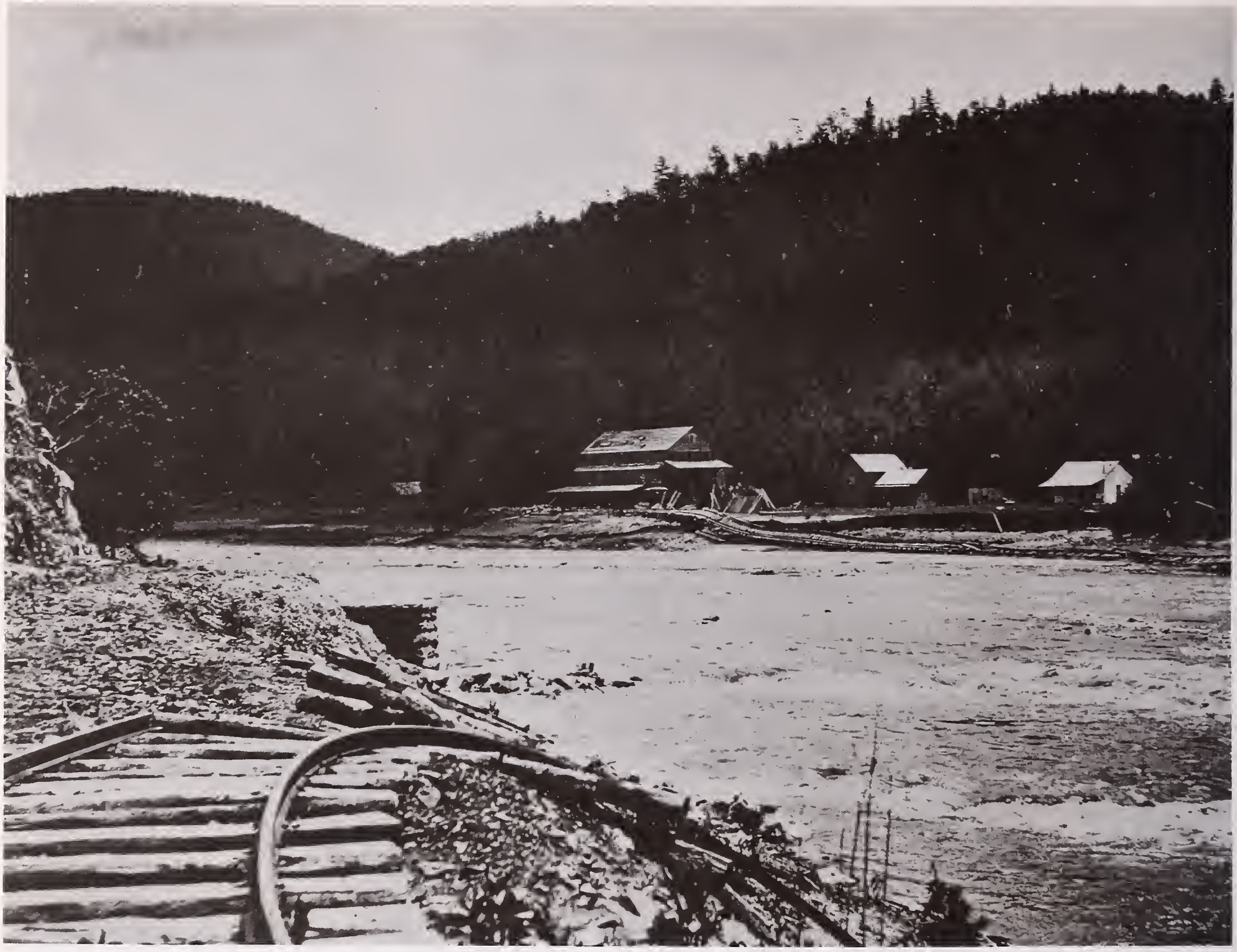
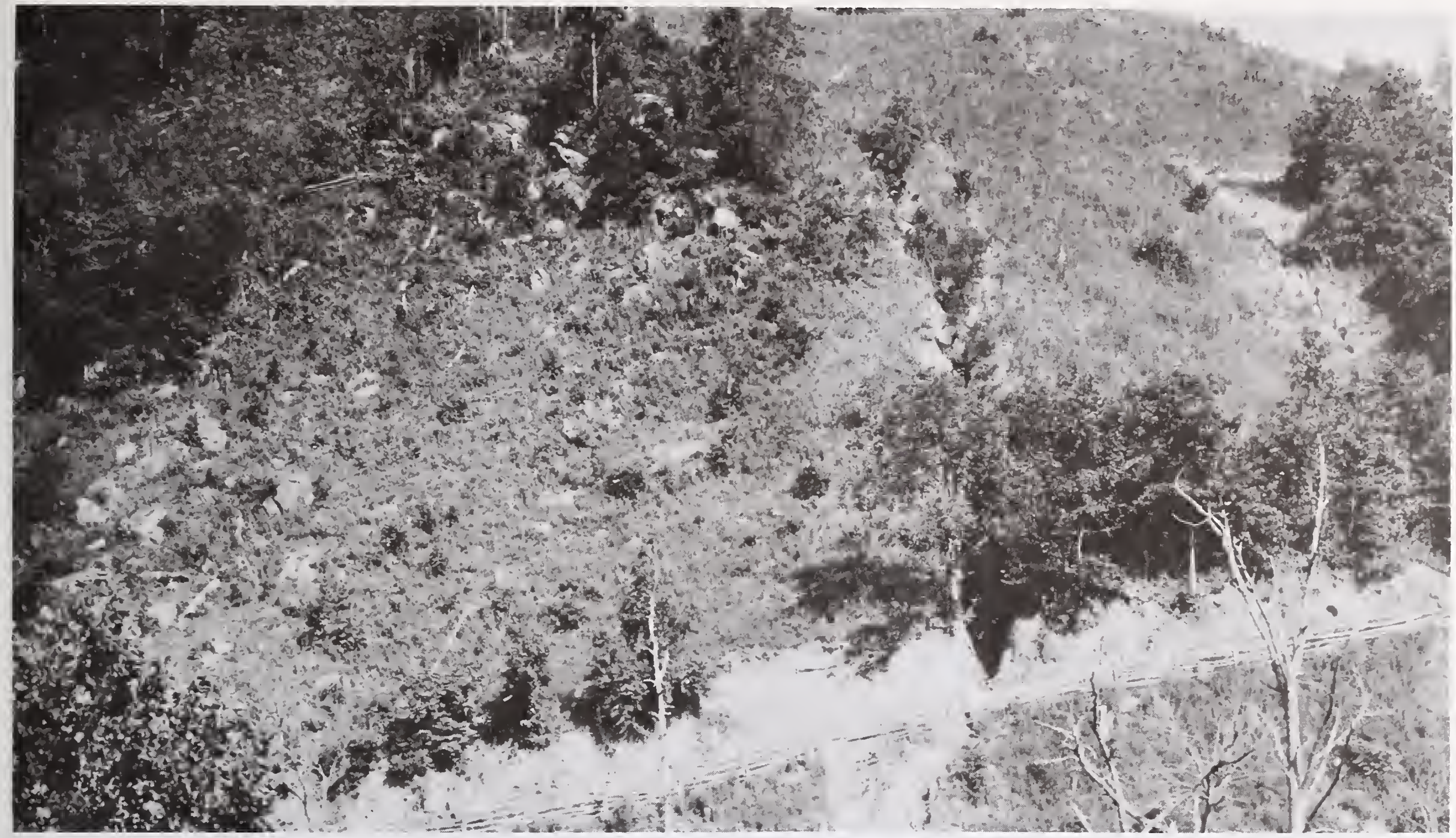


Figure 16.—Railroad bridge washed out over the Nolichucky River at Unaka Springs, Tenn., after flood of May 21, 1901. Such floods stimulated strong public demands early in this century for national parks and forests in the Southern Appalachians. Forests in this area became part of Unaka National Forest in 1921, later the Unaka District of Cherokee National Forest. (NA:95G-11062)

Such conditions came to national attention shortly after the turn of the century. In 1900, the Division of Forestry, U.S. Department of Agriculture, in cooperation with the Geological Survey, U.S. Department of the Interior, conducted a field investigation of the Southern Appalachian region. The survey results, sent to Congress by President Theodore Roosevelt 2 years later, decried the widespread damage, and attributed the land conditions to poor farming practices, repeated fires, and destructive lumbering:

> In these operations there has naturally been no thought for the future. Trees have been cut so as to fall along the line of least resistance regardless of what they crush. Their tops and branches, instead of being piled in such way and burned at such time as would do the least harm, are left scattered among the adjacent growth to burn when driest, and thus destroy or injure everything within reach. The home and permanent interests of the lumberman are generally in another state or region, and his interests in these mountains begins and ends with the hope of profit.[34]

Such conditions supported the survey report's conclusion that a Federal forest reserve in the Southern Appalachians was the only way to stop the continuing losses.



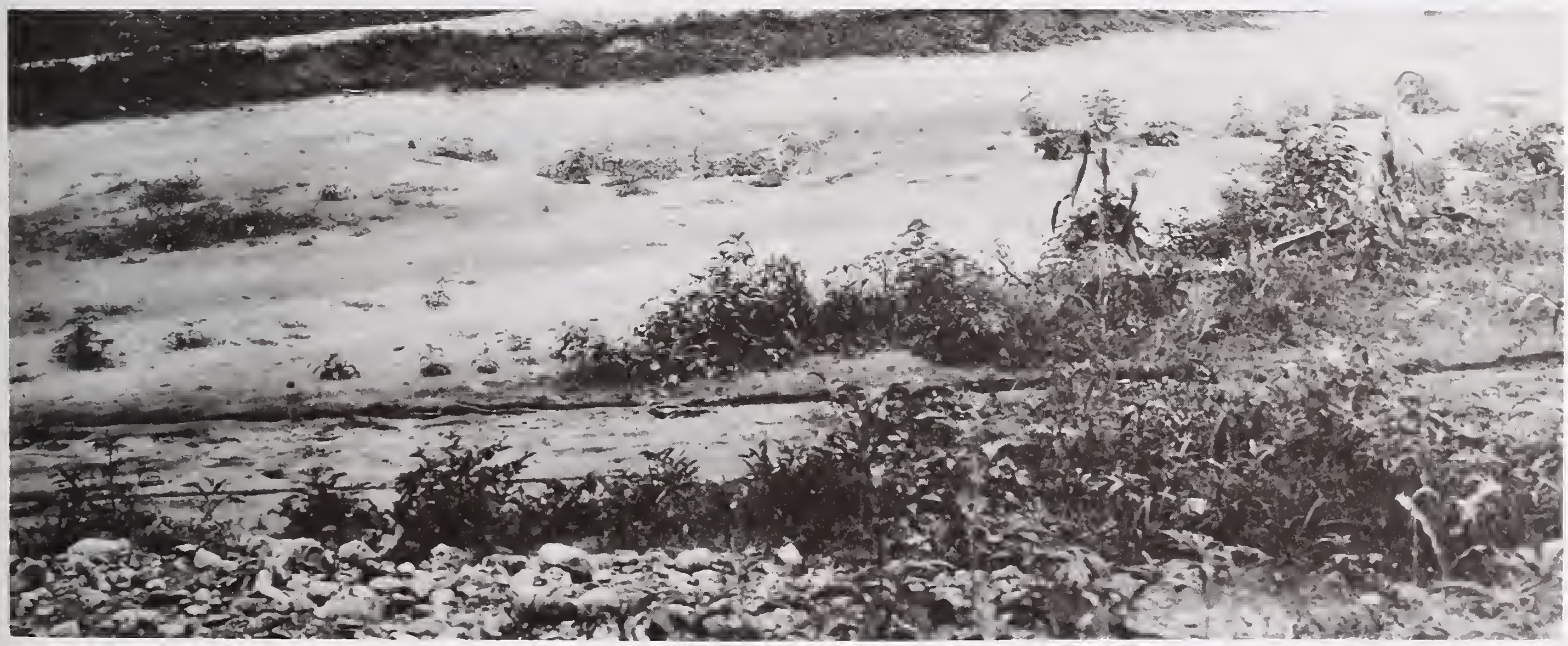


Figure 17.—Severely eroded steep rocky slope, the result of bad crop farming, along Scotts Creek, Jackson County, west of Asheville, N.C., after heavy rains of May 21, 1901. Scattered hardwoods and pitch pine are visible on hillside. (NA:95G-25315)

Figure 18.—Enormous load of gravel and silt deposited on 20-acre field on farm of William Brown along Catawba River, McDowell County, above Marion, N.C., by floods of May 21 and August 6, 1901. This area borders the present Pisgah National Forest. (NA:95G-25325)

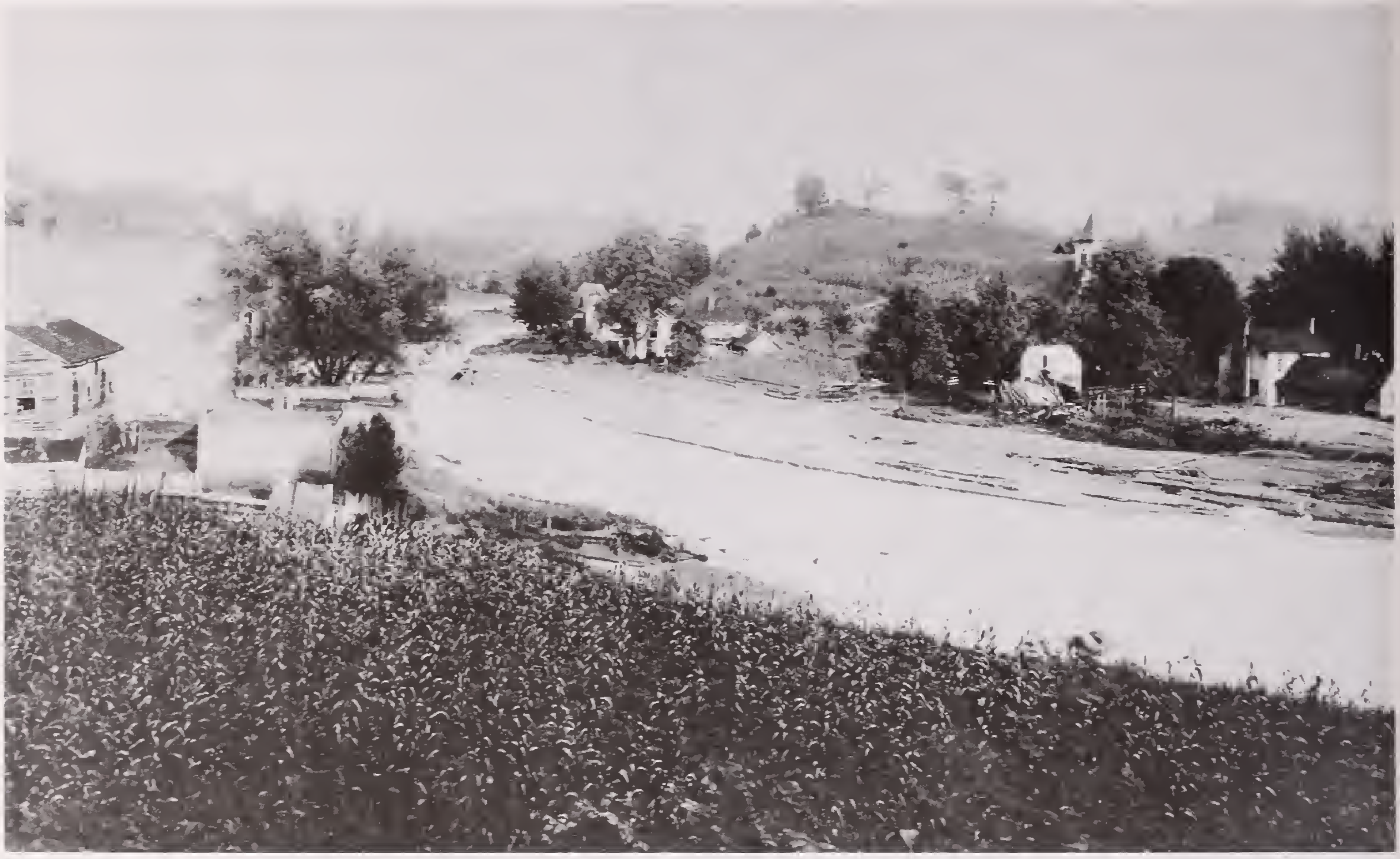


Figure 19.—Cane creek at Bakersville, Mitchell County, N.C., showing broad heavy deposit of silt from flood of May 21, 1901. Seven of the houses at right were washed away or badly damaged. The flood aroused wide interest in a Federal Forest Reserve. This area borders the present Pisgah National Forest. (NA:95G-25369)

American Forestry Begins in Appalachia

This indiscriminate but profitable logging exploitation of the mountain forests was soon challenged by a conservative approach. In 1892, amidst the timber boom, America's first experiment in practical forestry began in the Blue Ridge Mountains of western North Carolina.

Practical forestry was a vital part of the general conservation movement that arose in the United States in the last quarter of the 19th century and reached its peak during the presidency of the Progressive, Theodore Roosevelt. An intellectual and political phenomenon, the conservation movement was largely a response to the rapid industrialization and urbanization after the Civil War. Settlements had extended across the continent, the landscape had been altered, and American culture appeared increasingly materialistic. A countermovement developed to preserve pristine areas and to try to conserve the Nation's natural resources for present and future generations. As with the Progressive movement in general, conservation concerns were expressed essentially by urban dwellers and Easterners. The focus of conservation attention, however, was primarily in the West, where vast extents of land remained in the public domain and where large tracts of forest remained in "virgin" timber.[35]

The conservation movement embodied two distinct groups: preservationist and utilitarian. The preservationists, inspired by Henry Thoreau and exemplified by the influential founder of the Sierra Club, John Muir, believed in saving as much as possible of the Nation's scenic wilderness and forest expanses just as they were—never to be exploited by humans. They believed the beauty of the natural landscape should be valued in and of itself. The creation of Yellowstone, the first National Park, in 1872, was one of the earliest outgrowths of such concerns.[36]

In the last four decades of the 19th century a second conservationist faction developed: those who believed that renewable resources should be protected and managed through wise and economical use. The principal focus of this philosophy was the Nation's forests where the mechanics of economical conservation were to be demonstrated. A leading spokesman for this philosophy was Gifford Pinchot, early forester, who became Chief of the USDA Division of Forestry in 1898 and of its successor, the Forest Service, in 1905.

Forest Reserves Authorized in 1891

Between 1890 and 1910, practical-conservationist concerns were translated into political action. In 1891 by an amendment to the General Land Law Revision Act, often called the Creative Act, Congress gave the President almost unlimited power to withdraw huge expanses of forested lands from the public domain. In 1897 an amendment to the Civil Appropriations Act, often called the Organic Administration Act, established the management objectives of these reserves: ". . . securing favorable conditions of water flow and to furnish a continuous supply of timber for the use and necessities of citizens of the United States."[37] Timber in forest reserves was to be harvested and sold; waters could be used for mining, milling, or irrigation.

Before the passage of the Weeks Act in 1911, numerous large forest reserves were set aside in the West from lands in the public domain. It was in the East, however, where practical forestry was inaugurated. At Biltmore, between 1890 and 1910, the foundations were laid for scientific forestry as the Nation was later to practice it; here too some experiences and problems with the local population and commercial interests foreshadowed those of the first Federal foresters.

In 1889, the wealthy George W. Vanderbilt of New York, who had previously visited the area as a tourist, purchased about 300 acres of small farms and cutover woodlands near the French Broad River southwest of Asheville. The tract was composed of "some fifty decrepit farms and some ten country places heretofore owned by impoverished southern landed aristocracy."[38] The lands were in poor condition, having been abused by cutting, fires, erosion, and neglect. There Vanderbilt began construction of the palatial Biltmore House, and acquisition of what was to become a 100,000-acre estate. Over the next two decades Vanderbilt established an English-style village, an arboretum, parks, a wildlife preserve stocked with deer and pheasant, ponds and lagoons, a dairy farm, and miles of roads and trails as part of a vast experiment in landscape alteration.[39]

Vanderbilt's land-management philosophy was ahead of its time. His goal was to recultivate the fields and rebuild the forests with the most scientifically advanced methods of the day; Biltmore was to be a model of dairying, horticulture, landscaping esthetics, wildlife management, and productive forestry. In 1892, upon the recommendation of the famous landscape architect, Frederick Law Olmstead, creator of Central Park, New York City, who was in charge of landscaping the Biltmore grounds, Vanderbilt hired Gifford Pinchot, the future Chief of the Forest Service, to supervise Biltmore's forest lands.

Pinchot was at Biltmore for 3 years. During that time he conducted a survey and inventory of the more than 7,000 acres that had been acquired; continued management of the Biltmore Arboretum (an experimental garden with over 100 species of trees); continued the reforestation of badly cutover and eroded areas on the estate; and supervised the purchase of mountain lands to the west which came to be known as Pisgah Forest. There, in the fall of 1895, Pinchot directed the first logging of yellow- (tulip) poplar. To disprove the local notion that once such a forest was felled, it would never grow back, Pinchot cut selectively in the Big Creek valley below Mt. Pisgah only those large trees he had chosen and marked—felling, bucking, and hauling the logs out carefully so as to avoid damaging young trees. Although he claimed to know "little more about the conditions necessary for reproducing Yellow poplar than a frog knows about football," he understood that it needs strong light to grow well and that creating openings in the forest by felling mature trees would encourage a new crop.[40] Although the immediate goal was profit, the long-range objective was to preserve the remaining stand and insure a steady annual yield. Pinchot claimed his lumbering to be profitable, rather unconvincingly, since Vanderbilt himself consumed most of the timber.[41]

Pinchot left Biltmore in 1895; he had gradually become disappointed and disillusioned with Vanderbilt's motivations, and was ambitious for new experiences. Replacing Pinchot was Carl Alwin Schenck, a young highly recommended German forester, who for 14 years carried on and intensified Pinchot's efforts. He continued the practice of selective lumbering, and intensified reforestation efforts throughout the Vanderbilt estate. Schenck initially experimented with hardwood plantings, but eventually concentrated on reforestation of culled and eroded areas with eastern white, pitch, and shortleaf pines.[42]

Early Forestry School at Biltmore

Schenck carried out one of Pinchot's recommendations by establishing in 1898 the Biltmore School of Forestry in Pisgah Forest, now the site of the Forest Service's Cradle of Forestry historical exhibit. There, Schenck personally trained young men in all aspects of practical and textbook forestry, from seedlings to sawmilling. Although most went into industrial forestry, many became State and Federal foresters. Among his graduates were several leaders of the early Forest Service, including Overton W. Price, Associate Forester under Pinchot, Inman F. Eldredge, who supervised the first Forest Survey of the South, and Verne Rhoades, first supervisor of Pisgah National Forest.[43]

Although both Schenck and Pinchot believed in the wise utilization of resources as opposed to strict preservation, Schenck ran his school under a philosophy slightly different from Pinchot's. Schenck alternated book learning with practical experience in the woods, and was more interested than Pinchot in the hard economics of forestry. Over the years, the two men, both with very strong viewpoints and personalities, bickered continuously, sometimes bitterly. In essence, Pinchot separated forestry from sawmilling; Schenck did not. His frequently quoted dictum, "That forestry is best which pays best" indicates Schenck's orientation to industry.[44]

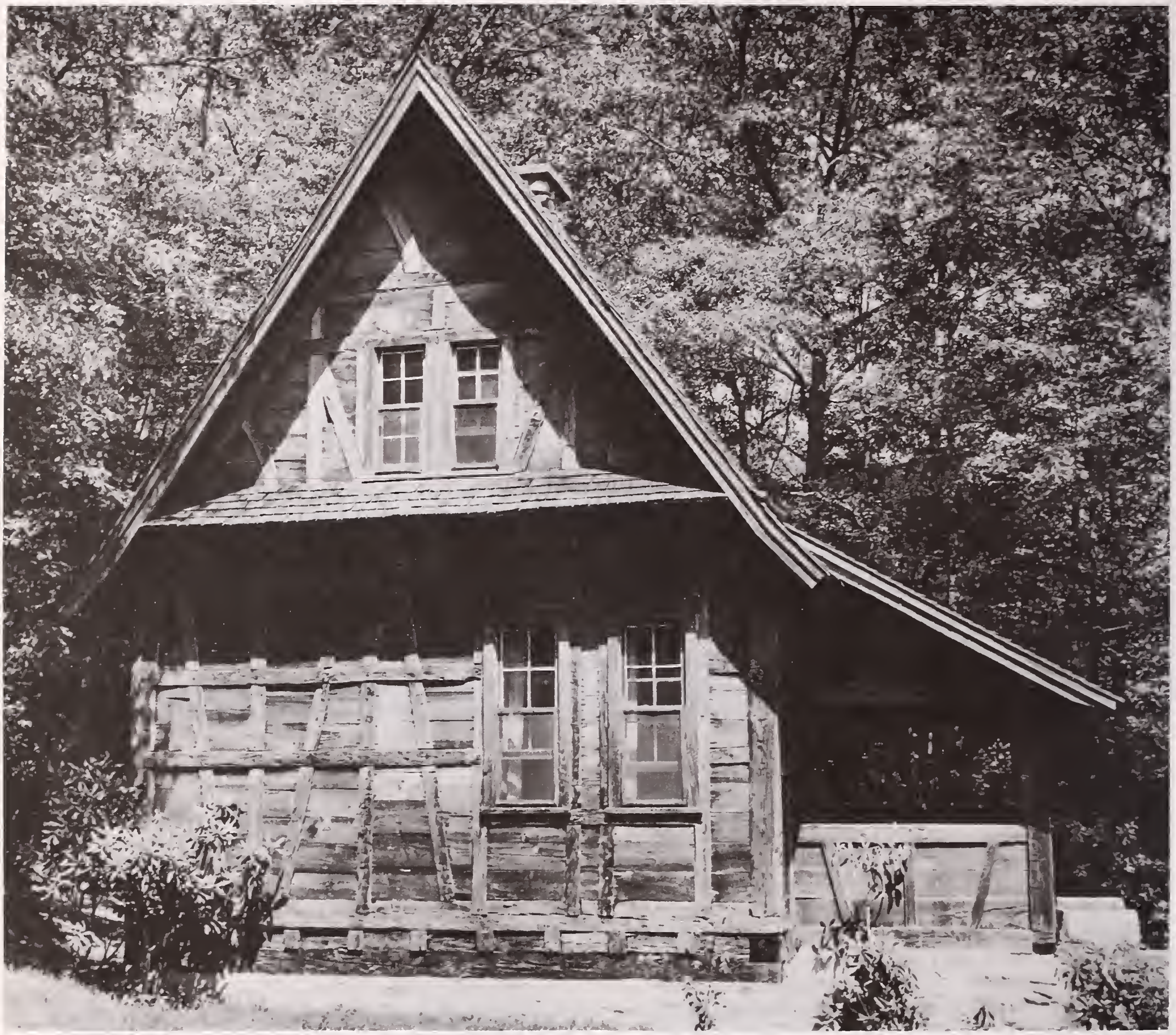


Figure 20.—Schenck Lodge, built in Black-Forest-of-Germany style on site of old Biltmore Forest School, now the Cradle of Forestry Visitors Center, Pisgah National Forest, Brevard, N.C., as it appeared in August 1949. Lodge had just been restored with new roof and foundation. It was originally built to house forest workers on the old Biltmore Forest, and then to house students in Dr. Carl A. Schenck's school. It is now used for administration and public recreation. (Forest Service photo F-458641)

He felt Pinchot's silvicultural practice of selective cutting to be a luxury that market prices or financial pressures often did not allow. This remains a debated issue today. Schenck wrote that Pinchot was furious "When he learned that in the school examinations at Biltmore a knowledge of logging and lumbering was weighed higher than that of silviculture or of any other branch of 'scientific' forestry . . . ."[45]

Although Schenck was more commercially oriented than Pinchot, he too was frequently frustrated with the local inhabitants of the French Broad area. The Vanderbilt estate, including Pisgah Forest, was dotted with many small inholdings, as it still was when the Federal Government purchased it in 1914. In spite of Vanderbilt ownership, the indwellers continued to use the land as if it were theirs; they cut wood, farmed, grazed cattle, and hunted freely on Vanderbilt land. Schenck considered this trespassing a serious block to his forestry efforts:

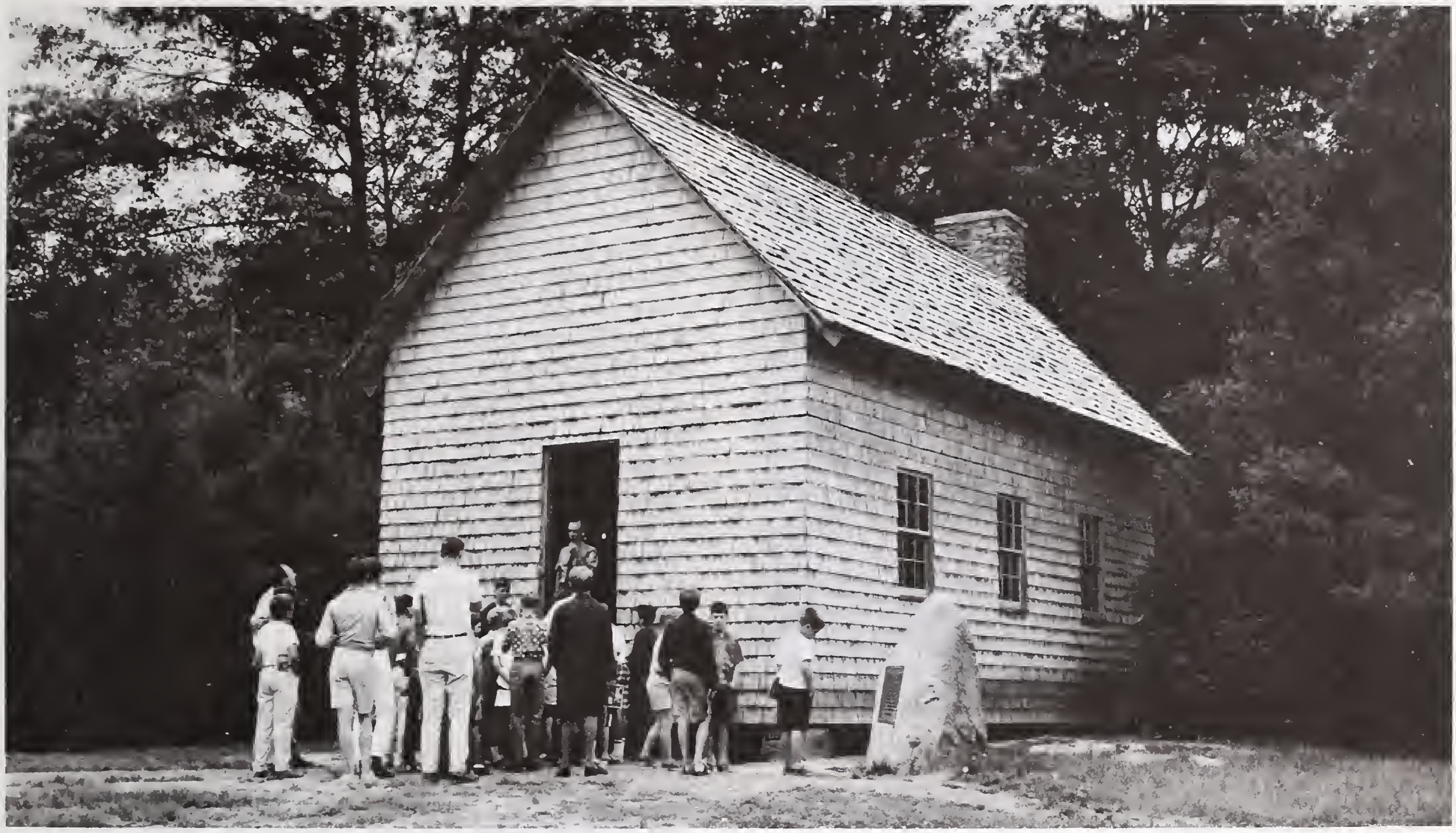


Figure 21.—Replica of original Biltmore Forest School building on Pisgah National Forest, Brevard, N.C., south of Asheville, now part of the Forest Service's Cradle of Forestry Visitor Center. Photo was taken in August 1967, a year after reconstruction. (Forest Service photo F-516882)

> In the Southernmost part of Pisgah Forest the size and the number of the interior holdings were so great that Vanderbilt's property in the aggregate was smaller than that of the holders. The woods in my charge were on the ridges and on the slopes above the farms where there was no yellow poplar. Mine seemed a hopeless task. For years to come, I could not think of conservative forestry.[46]

Throughout his service with Vanderbilt, Schenck continued to urge acquisition and consolidation of the inholdings, with some success.

In addition to trespassing, Schenck was frustrated with the mountaineers' penchant for burning to "green up" the pastures and clear the brush, and remained incredulous that no local regulations existed to prevent or control fire:

> The citizens of the county do not realize—do not want to realize—that my work is for their benefit as well as for that of my employer. We have never found any encouragement whatsoever in our work on the side of the state, the county, or the town. We are aliens; we do things out of the ordinary; that is cause enough for suspicion—for antagonism and enmity.[47]

These sentiments were echoed a decade later by some of the first Federal foresters in the region. And the two major concerns of Schenck—trespass and fire—continue to occupy the foresters in the Southern Appalachians today.

Although the local population remained a problem for Schenck, he was to have a positive and notable impact on industrial forestry throughout the region. Schenck was well known and respected by several local industrialists, who sought his advice on reforestation and marketing. The St. Bernard Mining Co. of Earlington, Ky., for example, experimented extensively before 1909 with hardwood plantings on lands no longer valuable for farming, and communicated with Schenck for guidance and expertise.[48]

Schenck's influence on industrial forestry was most noteworthy, however, in his association with the Champion Fibre Co. In 1906 Champion's president, Peter G. Thompson, came to North Carolina from Hamilton, Ohio, to buy spruce acreage in the Great Smoky and Balsam Mountains for making pulp. In 1907, Reuben B. Robertson, Thompson's son-in-law, opened the Champion Paper and Fibre Co. at Canton, N.C. Both men became well acquainted with Schenck. Although Schenck was never able to convince Thompson of the value of second-growth planting, he had more success with Robertson. Through Schenck, Robertson became convinced of the advantages of sustained-yield forestry, and earned Champion a reputation for intelligent, conservative lumbering. In 1920, Champion employed Walter Darntoft as corporate forester—the first such industrial forester in the South.[49]

Figure 22.—New Visitor Information Center at "Cradle of Forestry," Pisgah National Forest, Brevard, N.C., August 1967. (Forest Service photo F-516886)

The Move For Eastern Reserves

The Southern Appalachians gradually became a focus for the conservation movement. In addition to the forestry experiment at Biltmore, efforts began in western North Carolina to create an Appalachian National Park, largely through the Appalachian National Park Association, led by Dr. Chase P. Ambler of Asheville. Ambler, who had come from Ohio as a specialist in treating tuberculosis, valued the area's scenery and climate for what he considered its restorative characteristics.[50] The original sentiment behind the Association was preservationist: that the beauty and healthfulness of the Southern mountains should be preserved from destructive logging for the pleasure of future generations; the idea was to create an eastern equivalent of Yellowstone.[51] Within 2 years, however, the concern for scenic preservation was supplanted by the drive to create a forest reserve, and the interests of the park enthusiasts and foresters became temporarily commingled.

Through the lobbying effort of Dr. Ambler's group and the sponsorship of North Carolina Senator Jeter C. Pritchard, in 1900 Congress appropriated $5,000 for a preliminary investigation of forest conditions in the Southern Appalachians. The investigation, conducted by the U.S. Department of Agriculture with the help of the U.S. Geological Survey, also considered farmlands and the flow of streams throughout the region. Secretary of Agriculture James Wilson and Gifford Pinchot, at that time Chief of the USDA Division of Forestry, spent about ten days looking over the region themselves.

The report of the survey, published in 1902, details the land abuses of the Southern Appalachian region. Its tone is reminiscent of George Perkins Marsh's *Man and Nature*, the classic conservationist volume first published in 1864, with which Pinchot was very familiar.[52] Marsh's repeatedly stated theme was that man's influence on the land—particularly in clearing and burning forests and overgrazing pastures—had been detrimental and destructive. The message of the Southern Appalachian survey report, with pictures to support each point, was essentially the same: the special hardwood forests of the beautiful Appalachians were being destroyed by lumbering, fires, and—perhaps worst—by mountainside farming. These agents of destruction were causing the soil to leach, slopes to erode, and streams to flood their banks with rain and melting snow. The only clear solution: "for the Federal Government to purchase these forest-covered mountain slopes and make them into a national forest reserve."[53]

Throughout the decade of 1900 to 1910, the movement to create an Appalachian Forest Reserve grew in the size and diversity of its support to become a powerful and effective lobby group. In 1902 the National Hardwood Lumber Association and the National Lumber Manufacturers' Association passed resolutions favoring a Southern Appalachian Forest Reserve. Although many small mill operators and independent lumbermen continued to oppose the reserve movement, some of the largest firms, once assured that logging would continue, welcomed Federal land purchase as a relief from taxes on cutover useless land and an assurance of support for sound forestry.[54] In 1905, the movement gained the strong and broad-based support of the American Forestry Association, calling for Forest Reserves in both the Southern Appalachians and White Mountains. Indeed, when the AFA endorsed the Appalachian reserves, Ambler and his group disbanded and turned their efforts over to the more vigorous, nationally based association.

Throughout the decade nearly 50 bills to authorize an Appalachian Forest Reserve—or eastern reserves—were introduced in Congress. At first, Congressional opposition to the idea was strong, based on the issue of States' rights. This opposition was overcome in 1901 when the legislatures of North Carolina, South Carolina, Alabama, Georgia, Tennessee, and Virginia approved the Federal Government's right to acquire title to land in their States, and relinquished the right to tax that land. The Federal Government's constitutional authority to acquire land for reserves continued to be questioned, however, until the linkage was made between such acquisition and the power of Congress to regulate interstate commerce. The theory ran as follows: Removal of the forest cover affects streams flooding to such an extent that navigation is threatened; restoration of the forest will assure stream control, and hence navigation.

This linkage, however, was difficult to establish: in 1900 there was considerable doubt as to whether forests really did help control stream flow. The U.S. Army Corps of Engineers denied it. Indeed, there was disagreement within the Forest Service itself over the issue. Both Bernhard E. Fernow, Pinchot's predecessor as Chief of the Division of Forestry, and William B. Greeley, then Forest Assistant and later Forest Service Chief, believed that the effects of a forest cover on waterflow were often exaggerated, and questioned the extent to which forests could actually prevent floods. Even Pinchot acknowledged that the role of ground cover could be overestimated. Nevertheless, these internal doubts were suppressed, and the Forest Service adopted a position of aloofness in the ensuing public debate.[55]

Meanwhile, reserve proponents went to considerable pains to convince skeptical Congressmen that a cause and effect relationship existed between forests and floods. In May 1902, for example, representatives of Ambler's Appalachian National Park Association (soon renamed Appalachian Forest Reserve Association) took two miniature mountains which they had built to a Washington meeting with the House Agriculture Committee.

> These model mountains were about six feet high and were built on a slope of thirty degrees, being constructed on frames. The one miniature mountain was left bare, the gulleys and depressions in the sides of the mountain being faithfully reproduced. The other mountain was covered with a layer of sponge about four inches thick and over this was spread moss; in this moss were put small twigs of evergreens. The Committee on Agriculture admitted that we had two very good illustrations of mountains.
>
> Rain was caused to fall on these mountains by a member of the association climbing a step ladder with a sprinkling can, endeavoring to demonstrate what occurred when it rained on the forest covered mountain and bare mountains. The results were that the demonstration showed conclusively that the water which fell on the bare mountain ran off with a gush, forcing rivers in the lowlands out of their banks and causing devastating floods; while the rain which fell on the forest covered mountains was held in the humus and given up slowly in the form of springs, thus regulating the water supply in the lowlands.[56]

Most Congressmen remained unconvinced. In addition, legislators from the West and Midwest, particularly Speaker of the House Joseph G. ("Uncle Joe") Cannon of Illinois, were antagonistic toward the idea of eastern reserves, and some were resentful of the Pinchot-engineered transfer of the Forest Reserves from the Department of Interior to the Department of Agriculture early in 1905.

Severe Floods Trigger Weeks Act

The eventual success of the legislation for eastern Forest Reserves with the passage of the Weeks Act in 1911 can be attributed to two factors. First, the Weeks Act was the result of persistent, insistent lobbying. Absolutely convinced of the rightness of their cause, the Forest Reserve proponents gradually won broader and broader support, and outlasted the opposition. Second, physical events reinforced their arguments. In 1907 disastrous and costly flooding which occurred along the Monongahela and Ohio Rivers was traced directly to the cutover conditions of the upper watershed. In 1910 a series of mammoth, disastrous fires swept the Northwest, particularly Montana and Idaho. These environmental cataclysms helped persuade legislators that the destructive logging of the past two decades was taking its toll, and that forests had to be better managed for fire control.[57] The combining of these two interests helped to ease passage of the Act, eventually resulting in establishment of National Forests in Pennsylvania and West Virginia at the headwaters of the rivers flooded in 1907.[58]

After a final 2 years of intense debate but waning opposition the Senate passed a bill on February 5, 1911, that the House had approved in June 1910, to allow creation of Forest Reserves in the East, by purchase. The bill was known as the Weeks Act after John Weeks, Congressman from Massachusetts and member of the House Committee on Agriculture, who had been the bill's sponsor for several years.[59] Based on the authority of Congress to regulate interstate commerce, the bill authorized the Secretary of Agriculture to examine and recommend for purchase "such forested, cutover, or denuded lands within the watersheds of navigable streams as in his judgment may be necessary to the regulation of the flow of navigable streams . . ." An initial $11 million was appropriated to cover the first several years of purchase. The bill created the National Forest Reservation Commission to consider, approve, and determine the price of such lands. The Commission, which was to report annually to Congress, was composed of the Secretary of the Army, Secretary of the Interior, Secretary of Agriculture, two members of the Senate selected by the President of the Senate, and two members of the House appointed by the Speaker. In addition, the bill authorized the Secretary of Agriculture to cooperate with States situated on watersheds of navigable rivers in the "organization and maintenance of a system of fire protection" on private or State forest land, provided the State had a fire-protection law.

Although the Weeks Act did not specify the Southern Appalachians or the White Mountains as areas of purchase, it was implicitly directed at those watersheds. Lands whose purchase was necessary for stream regulation were in rugged mountainous areas of heavy rainfall where the absence of a forest cover would threaten stream regularity and, hence, navigability. Having studied these lands for the last decade, the Forest Service knew in 1911 the general acreage it wanted to acquire. As soon as the Weeks Act passed, Forest Service Chief Henry Graves, Pinchot's successor, assigned 35 men to the task of examining the designated areas.

It is difficult to gauge precisely the involvement of the people of the Southern Appalachians in the Forest Reserve movement or to assess the impact on them of the growing national interest in their area. Certainly, the organized movement for an Appalachian National Park, and subsequently a forest reserve, was never very large. The original size of the Appalachian National Park Association membership was 42, composed principally of professionals: doctors, attorneys, editors, geologists among them.[60] The total membership in 1905 was 307, with more members living outside North Carolina than within the State.[61] Although the geographical base of the group's membership had broadened, it is unlikely that the occupational base had. Thus, the group of local, active supporters for a park or Forest Reserve remained small, essentially urban, and—in a sense—elitist.

The degree of local general awareness of the Forest Reserve movement is difficult to assess. Certainly, the publicity campaign of Appalachian National Park-Forest Reserve Association was earnest: Dr. Ambler and others, such as Joseph Holmes and Joseph Pratt of the North Carolina Geological Survey, spoke throughout the State and before Congress in support of the proposed reserve. Local and national newspapers favorably addressed the issue. However, the extent to which this publicity reached the mountain populace is uncertain. There were signs of local opposition to the forest movement, primarily from the smaller, independent lumbermen, some of whom were undoubtedly misinformed or confused about the purpose of such reserves, some of whom simply resented a Federal intrusion. For example, some lumber interests circulated erroneous information about the reserves, which was countered by editorials in the *Asheville Citizen*.[62] Inman Eldredge, a graduate of Biltmore Forest School who was with the Forest Service in the South from the earliest days, has spoken of the "murky atmosphere of animosity" between lumbermen and Pinchot's foresters in the years before the Weeks Act.

It is probably safe to say that the majority of the local population was oblivious or indifferent both to the Forest Reserve movement and the opposition to it. As Forester Eldredge expressed it:

> . . . All the rest of the people didn't know and didn't give a damn. Forestry was as odd and strange to them as chiropody or ceramics. The people right down on the ground, the settlers, the people who lived in the woods . . . were completely uninformed and were the greatest, ablest, and most energetic set of woodburners that any foresters have had to contend with.[63]

The Early Forest Service

The Forest Service in 1911 was a very young and, at that time, threatened organization. Gifford Pinchot, who had been Chief Forester with the Department of Agriculture since 1898, had been fired by President Taft in January 1910 for his insubordination and highhandedness in challenging the policies of the recently appointed Interior Secretary, Richard A. Ballinger. Early in 1905, Pinchot had engineered the transfer of the Forest Reserves from the General Land Office of the Department of Interior to the Bureau of Forestry in the Department of Agriculture. He had virtually created the Forest Service. Having united in one office the functions of overseeing forest reserves and advising the Nation on forestry, Pinchot was beginning to achieve his goals:

> . . . to practice Forestry instead of merely preaching it. We wanted to prove that Forestry was something more than a subject of conversation. We wanted to demonstrate that Forestry could be taken out of the office into the woods, and made to yield satisfactory returns on the timberland investment—that Forestry was good business and could actually be made to pay.[64]

Unfortunately, although he had had strong support from President Roosevelt, Pinchot created enemies in his intense conservation campaigns. When Taft succeeded Roosevelt early in 1909, he allowed Pinchot to remain Forest Service Chief, but Taft's appointments and policies were soon intolerable to Pinchot. Less than a year later, as a result of Pinchot's public attacks on Ballinger, Taft was forced to remove Pinchot.

Henry Graves, Dean of the Yale School of Forestry, was named to replace Pinchot in January 1910, probably through Pinchot's maneuvering.[65] A serious, studious, no-nonsense administrator, Graves presented to many a needed contrast to the flamboyant, aggressive, self-righteous Pinchot. In 1910 the Forest Service was not in Congressional favor, and thus needed an economy-minded, moderate, apolitical leader.

The frugality imposed on the Forest Service during Graves' administration compounded the already demanding, self-sacrificing existence that Forest Service employees were expected to assume in those early years. Pinchot's original "Use Book," *The Use of the National Forest Reserves*, published in 1905, leaves little doubt as to the rigorous eligibility requirements of a ranger:

> To be eligible as ranger of any grade the applicant must be, first of all, thoroughly sound and able-bodied, capable of enduring hardships and of performing severe labor under trying conditions. Invalids seeking light out-of-door employment need not apply. No one may expect to pass the examination who is not already able to take care of himself and his horses in regions remote from settlement and supplies. He must be able to build trails and cabins and to pack in provisions without assistance. He must know something of surveying, estimating, and scaling timber, lumbering, and the livestock business . . . Thorough familiarity with the region in which he seeks employment, including its geography and its forest and industrial conditions, is usually demanded . . .[66]

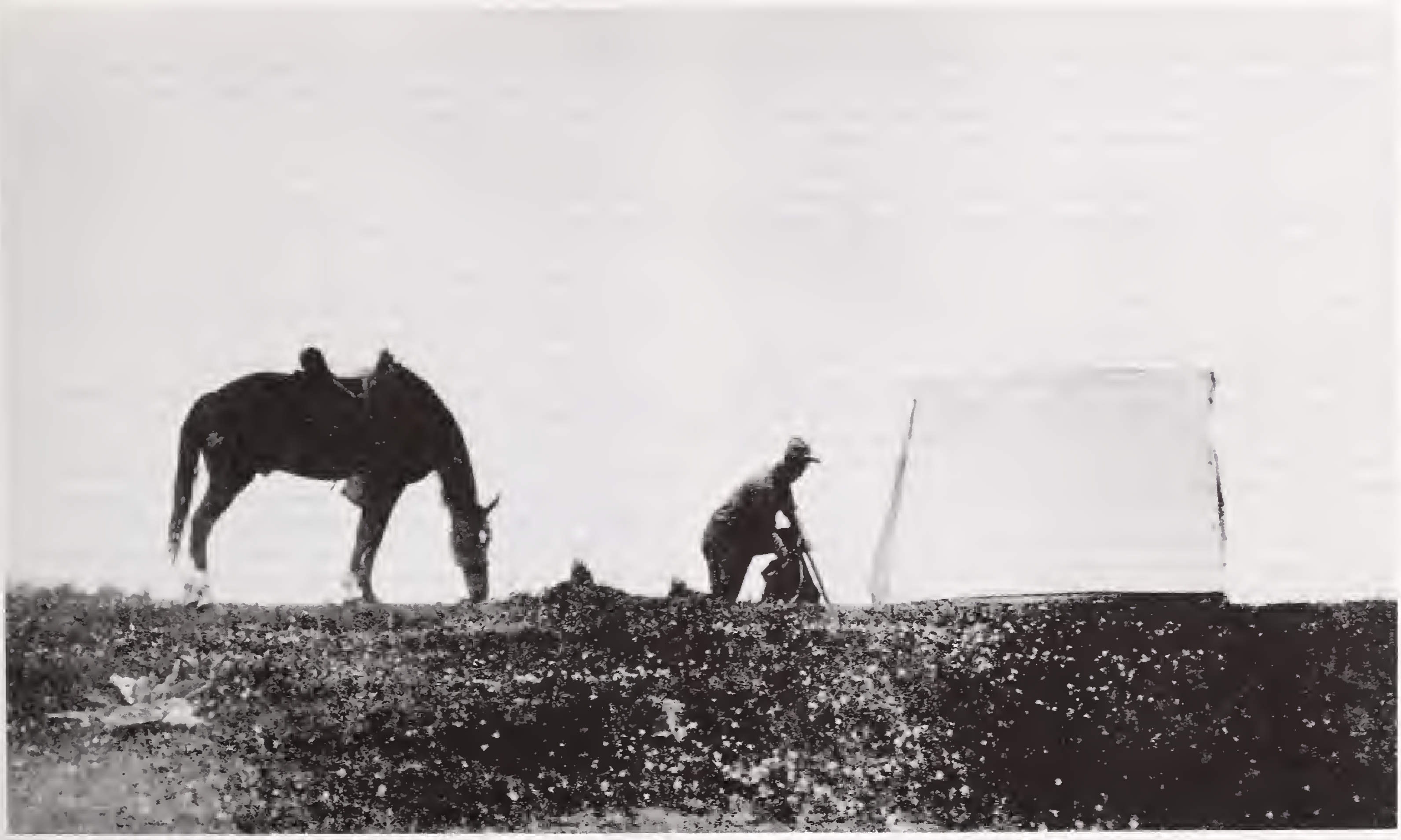


Figure 23.—Forest Service ranger making camp at day's end. Pisgah National Forest, N.C., June 1923. (NA:95G-176512)

Although these words were softened slightly during Graves' administration, their tone continued to stress that Forest Service employment was only for those with special qualifications.

By 1915 the basic areas of Forest Service activities had evolved as three distinct organizational units: the National Forests, cooperation with States and private owners, and forestry research.[67] Forest administration was decentralized, with forests grouped into major Districts under largely independent District Foresters. (Districts became Regions in 1930.) A supervisor was responsible for each forest, and rangers were in charge of the administrative districts within the forests. Other Forest Service officers included deputy supervisors, forest examiners, forest assistants, lumbermen, and scalers. All were appointed after a Civil Service examination.

The district ranger, then as now a crucial position in the Forest Service field organization, was charged with the management of timber sales, grazing, fire protection, and special uses for about 60,000 acres, on the average, at that time. In 1915 he was paid an annual salary of between $900 to $1,200. By 1920 that salary had barely increased; forest supervisors were paid only twice that. Indeed, the continuing low salary caused a sizeable defection in the Forest Service technical staff between 1918 and 1920.[68]

Rangers were required to pass both a written and a field examination, the latter a test of various practical skills including lumbering, horsemanship, and surveying. Clyne and Walter Woody of Suches, Ga., whose father, W. Arthur Woody, became a U.S. forest ranger in northern Georgia in 1918, remember that the examination lasted for several days and was extremely demanding in the endurance and range of skills required.[69] W. Arthur Woody, who later became one of the most well-known rangers, was a native of the mountains who proved invaluable because of his devotion to conservation and the respect he had among the mountain people.

Even in the earliest days, the relationshp between Forest Service officers and the general public was regarded as important. According to the 1915 *Use Book*, Forest Service personnel were not just officers of the Government, but "also agents of the people, with whom they come into close relations, both officially and as neighbors and fellow citizens." Thus, they were encouraged to be "prompt, active, and courteous in the conduct of Forest business" and " to prevent misunderstanding and violation of Forest regulations by timely and tactful advice rather than to follow up violations by the exercise of their authority."[70] To help win popular respect, the Forest Service generally placed officers in districts close to their homes. This practice, followed even in recent years when possible, became especially important in eastern forests where the intermingling of Federal and private lands brought the Forest Service and the local population into greater contact than generally occurred in the West.

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Chapter II

National Forests Organized in Southern Appalachians

The Weeks Act, establishing Federal authority to purchase lands for National Forests, was signed by President William Howard Taft on March 1, 1911. Almost immediately, the Forest Service examined, and optioned for purchase, lands in the Southern Appalachian Mountains. The first National Forest there was proclaimed by President Woodrow Wilson on October 17, 1916; more followed in 1920. By 1930 thousands of acres of culled or cutover mountain lands had been acquired and the Forest Service had begun its ambitious, long-term effort for environmental and economic stabilization of the region.

Within a week, the Act became law and the National Forest Reservation Commission had been appointed and had met for the first time.[1] In anticipation of the new law, the Forest Service had been working for many months to select a large number of precisely defined, very large tracts suitable for purchase, in the most promising areas, for Commission approval. These tracts, designated "purchase units," roughly bounded the mountain headwaters of navigable streams. Each unit was at least 100,000 acres (156.25 square miles, or 40,469 hectares) in size, and most were much larger. Final surveying and mapping was done early in March, and on March 27 the Commission announced the establishment of 13 purchase units, 7 of which were in the Southern Appalachians. By the end of fiscal year 1912, four more units in the region were announced. All 11 are listed in table 2.

The boundaries of these units were altered several times in later years, as lands were reevaluated and new lands became available for purchase. When the units were incorporated into National Forests, after sufficient lands had been acquired, some of the names were retained as the names of the new forests. Four Southern Appalachian purchase units were added considerably later: the French Broad in North Carolina and Tennessee (1927), the Cumberland in Kentucky (1930), the Chattahoochee in Georgia (1936), and the Redbird in Kentucky (1965). Of the original purchase units, no land was ever purchased in the Great Smoky Mountains area, and the Yadkin Unit was still inactive in 1982 and likely to remain so.

With the establishment of official purchase units, the actual acquisition process began, on something of an *ad hoc* basis. Although modified over the years, the procedure remained essentially the same in 1982. First, advertisements requesting offers to sell land within the purchase unit boundaries were published in newspapers throughout the area. Upon reasonable offers of sale, the lands in question were examined and surveyed and, if deemed suitable, were recommended for purchase to the National Forest Reservation Commission. The Commission, usually meeting twice each year, considered each tract separately. Depending upon the availability of funds, purchases were consummated within several months to a year of approval.

By June 30, 1911, 1,264,022 acres of land had already been offered for sale by owners; of those, about 150,000 had been examined. Reputedly, the first land to receive preliminary Commission approval was a tract of over 31,000 acres offered on April 14, 1911, by Andrew and N.W. Gennett of the Gennett Land and Lumber Co. of Atlanta.[2] The tract, located in Fannin, Union, Lumpkin, and Gilmer Counties, Ga., was in an area which had formerly been "rather thickly settled" with small farms but was now almost abandoned. Although some of the tract had deteriorated with misuse, enough marketable timber remained to command a price of $7.00 per acre.

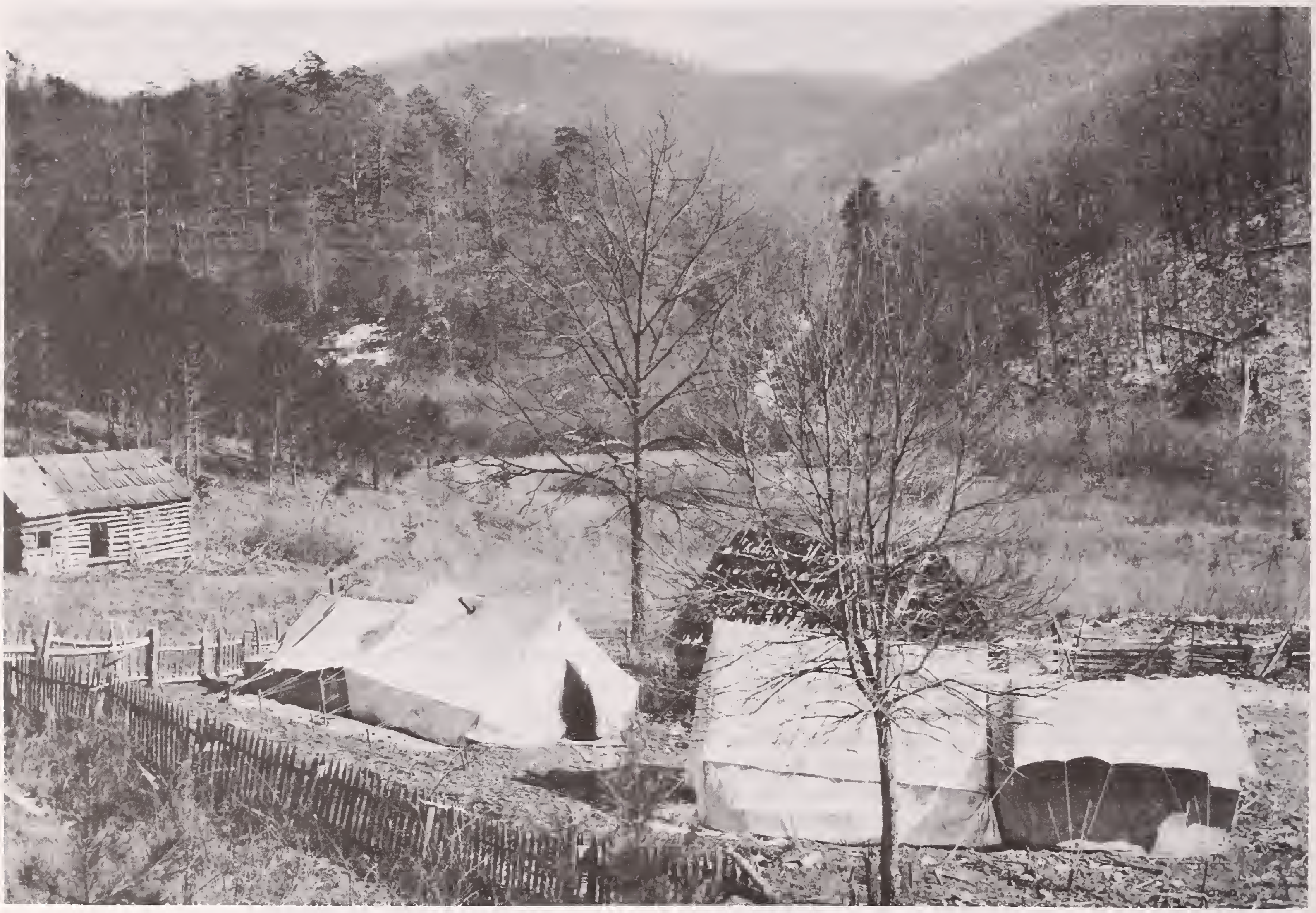
The Gennetts were probably eager to sell the tract because it was not immediately accessible. The nearest rail point was located from 16 to 25 miles away.[3] Indeed, after Commission approval of their first tract, the Gennetts offered 13,000 acres of land belonging to the Oaky Mountain Lumber Co., of which Andrew Gennett was President, in Rabun County, Ga. Gennett proclaimed his Oaky Mountain lands to be "solid and compact . . . as well timbered as any portion of that section . . . [and] not over 300 or 400 acres has ever been cleared.[4] In January 1913, the National Forest Reservation Commission approved the purchase of 7,335 Oaky Mountain acres at $8.00 per acre; additional Gennett tracts of 10,170 and 2,200 acres were approved in 1917 and 1919.[5]

The first tract actually purchased was an 8,100-acre tract of the Burke McDowell Lumber Co. in McDowell County, near Marion, N.C. This tract was officially approved at the same meeting the first Gennett tract was—on December 9, 1911; however, payment for it was made on August 29, 1912, almost 4 months before the Gennett tract was paid for. The Burke McDowell tract sold for just over $7.00 per acre.[6]

Table 2.—The 11 Original National Forest Purchase Units in the Southern Appalachians

Name	Location	Initial Gross Acreage
1911		
Mt. Mitchell	North Carolina	214,992
Nantahala	North Carolina and Tennessee	595,419
Pisgah	North Carolina	358,577
Savannah	Georgia and South Carolina	367,760
Smoky Mountains	North Carolina and Tennessee	604,934
White Top	Tennessee and Virginia	255,027
Yadkin	North Carolina	194,496
1912		
Boone	North Carolina	241,462
Cherokee	Tennessee	222,058
Georgia	Georgia and North Carolina	475,899
Unaka	North Carolina and Tennessee	473,533
Total		1,412,952

Source: The National Forests and Purchase Units of Region Eight, Forest Service unpublished report, Region 8 (Atlanta, Ga., January 1, 1955), p. 5.



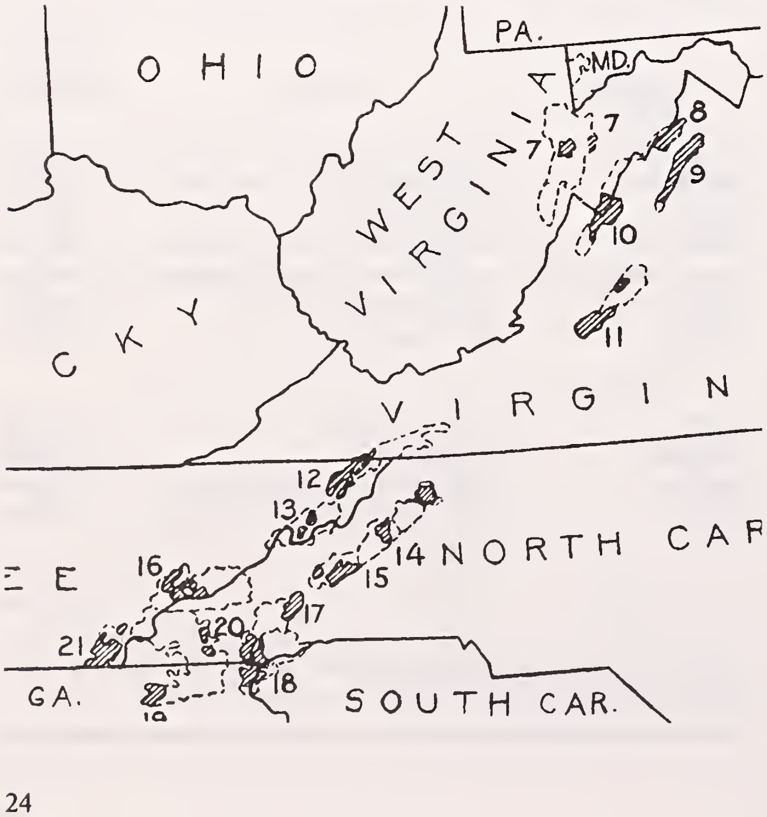


Figure 24.—Forest boundary survey crew camp No. 1 on Pfister & Vogel timber lands, Union-Fannin counties, North Georgia, in December 1911, preparatory to Federal purchase under the Weeks Act of March 1, 1911. This area became part of the Savannah Purchase Unit, which later became a portion of the Chattahoochee National Forest. (National Archives: Record Group 95G-10411A)

Figure 25.—Forested areas of the Southern Appalachian Mountains that were selected for purchase as National Forests under the Weeks Act of March 1, 1911, as of the summer of 1915. Dotted lines enclose proposed Forest boundaries; shaded portions show where lands had been acquired or were in process of acquisition. These various "purchase areas" or "purchase units" shown here, together with newer ones, were later consolidated and incorporated into nine National Forests. The numbered Purchase Units and the Forests that evolved are: 7, Monongahela; 8, Potomac; 9, Massanutten, and 10, Shenandoah, all three of which became the Shenandoah National Forest on May 16, 1918, and then the George Washington National Forest on June 28, 1932; 11, Natural Bridge, which became a Forest of that name in 1918 and then part of the George Washington in 1933; 12, White Top, and 13, Unaka, which together became the Unaka National Forest on July 24, 1920, and then part of the Cherokee on April 21, 1936 (except for the Virginia portions which became part of the new Jefferson National Forest); 14, Boone, 15, Mt. Mitchell, and 17, Pisgah, which all became part of the enlarged Pisgah National Forest by 1921; 18, Savannah, and 20, Nantahala, which together became the Nantahala National Forest on January 29, 1920; 19, Georgia, and 21, Cherokee, which together became the early Cherokee National Forest on June 14, 1920; and 16, Smoky Mountains Purchase Area, which finally became the southern half of Great Smoky Mountains National Park. The Georgia portion of Nos. 18 and 19 later became the nucleus of Chattahoochee National Forest. The South Carolina portion of No. 18 later became part of Sumter National Forest. (Forest Service map and photo)

Best, Largest Tracts Acquired First

The size and quality of the Gennett and McDowell tracts are representative of many of the earliest lands purchased in the Southern Appalachians. Generally, although many small owners sold tracts in the 100- to 300-acre category, some of the best and largest tracts were acquired first. Purchasing a few large tracts was an easier way to establish national forest acreage than purchasing many smaller tracts, and lumber companies were often willing to sell large tracts. The Forest Service maintained, however, that the boundaries of the purchase units were not necessarily drawn to include large tracts. In 1912, William Hall, Assistant Forester in charge of acquisition, advised his forest examiners near Brevard, N.C., "the question of whether a locality is to be put in a purchase area should be determined entirely irrespective of whether the lands are held in small or large holdings."[7]

Nearly 30 percent of the lands bought in the first 5 years in North Carolina, Tennessee, and Georgia were virgin timber.[8] Most of the remaining land had been partially cleared or culled for specific types of timber, especially yellow- (tulip) poplar and chestnut. Few of the first tracts purchased were totally cutover, although the proportion of cutover lands acquired increased over the years. The largest tracts were purchased almost without exception from lumber companies or land investment concerns. Most such land was either sparsely populated or uninhabited, the residents having left as the land was depleted and acquired by investors for its remaining timber. In the case of the Gennett tract:

> the emigration tendency in the vicinity of this tract was so strong that the remaining settlers have been unable to maintain schools and churches or keep roads in good condition. This situation has made it easy for a body of land of the size of this tract to be assembled . . . [9]

The quality of lands purchased varied considerably over the Southern Appalachian region. The best lands were those where topography and remoteness had delayed road and rail access. For example, the Nantahala Purchase Unit of far southwestern North Carolina was thought to contain "some of the best and most extensive virgin forests of the hardwood belt."[10] Among the first lands purchased there were about 21,000 acres of the Macon Lumber Co., high in the mountains. Only 102 acres of the tract had been cleared, "and the only settler [in 1912] is the keeper employed by the Company."[11] The lands sold for $11 per acre. Another early Nantahala purchase was over 16,000 "well-timbered" acres of the Macon County Land Co., sold between 1914 and 1919 for between $8 and $9 per acre.[12]

On the other hand, lands offered in the Cherokee and Unaka purchase units appear to have been lower and less uniform in quality. Of over 275,000 acres not in farms in the Unaka area in 1912, 40 percent of the land was estimated to have been cutover or culled, and on another 40 percent of the land, timber operations were ongoing, with at least 15 large sawmills and more than 50 smaller ones. Moreover, of 24,050 acres of "virgin" timber being offered for sale in the Unaka area as of March 1912, 22,000 were subject to timber reservations on all trees above 10 inches in diameter.[13]

Similarly, in the Cherokee Purchase Unit, much of the timber on the offered lands was either cutover, being cut, or reserved. In 1913 the Alaculsy Lumber Co. of Conasauga, Tenn., offered 32,000 acres, all of which were cutover or subject to a timber reservation.[14] Of the over 53,000 acres of the Tennessee Timber Co. surveyed between 1913 and 1915, sections had been extensively damaged by smoke and sulfur fumes from the smelting operations of the Tennessee Copper Co. and the Ducktown Sulfur, Copper, and Iron Co. near Ducktown, Tenn.[15] In certain areas, particularly northern Georgia and southwestern North Carolina, the Forest Service gained possession of finely timbered "virgin" forests. However, more often than not, the lands acquired, especially in later years, had been cleared, misused, or at least selectively culled.

Formal Field Surveys Required

Because all lands obtained under Weeks Act authority had to be acquired and paid for on a per-acre basis, a formal survey of each tract was necessary before it could be recommended for purchase. Survey work on the tracts offered during the early years was difficult, time-consuming, and costly. Many were remote and inaccessible, steep, and covered with dense undergrowth. Before the land examiners came to cruise the Gennett tract in northern Georgia, for example, Gennett warned them that it would take at least 10 days to go over the tract and that it would be very difficult to get accommodations, "and in some portions of the tract, it will be absolutely impossible."[16]

Most of the offered tracts had never been surveyed before, and often the owners had only a general awareness of their boundaries, as the letters and reports of the first survey teams recurringly attest. Thomas Cox, Survey Examiner in Georgia, wrote in his January 1914 report, "Tracts difficult to locate as owners do not know anything definate [*sic*] of corners." In surveying the Vanderbilt lands of the Pisgah Unit in 1914, James Denman wrote, "no one either in Vanderbilt employ or otherwise seems to know much about the location of their lands on the ground."[17] Indeed, sometimes lot descriptions were based on tree lines that no longer existed; in these cases, surveyors persuaded adjacent landowners to establish *ad hoc* corners and sign an agreement accordingly.[18]

Surveying for early Forest Service acquisitions in the Southern Appalachians even required surveying a county line for the first time. The boundary between Swain and Macon Counties, N.C., established in 1871, had never actually been surveyed; essentially it followed clear natural or man-made boundaries, except for an arbitrary line between the Nantahala and Little Tennessee Rivers. In June 1914 the Forest Service surveying party established the boundary on the ground.[19]

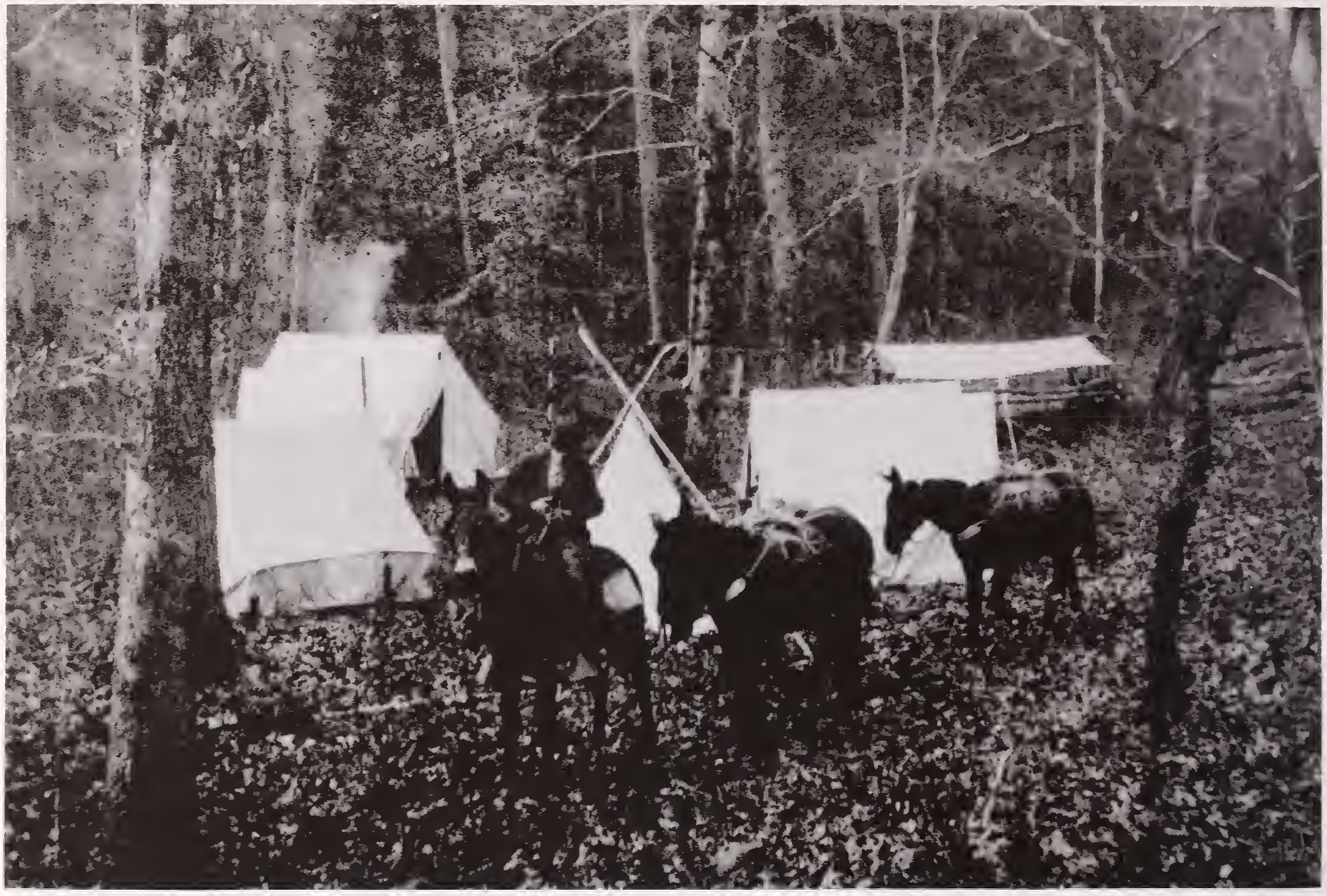


Figure 26.—Camp of forest boundary survey crew on lands of Little River Lumber Company, Great Smoky Mountains, Blount County, Tenn., in December 1911, just 9 months after passage of the Weeks Act. This area is now in the National Park, but then was scheduled to be in a new National Forest. (NA:95G-10071A)

Much of the surveyor's work involved resolving tract overlappings where lands were claimed by more than one owner. In parts of the southern mountains, early grants had been made and titles transferred—to the apparent ignorance or indifference of the current occupant. Many of the old grants in the Mt. Mitchell area were found so vague in description that they were almost impossible to locate.[20] Throughout the area lands had been claimed and counterclaimed with both parties often sharing the property in ambiguous peace until the Forest Service surveyors arrived. Upon initial survey of the Vanderbilt tract, at least seven claimants refused to acknowledge Vanderbilt title. An extreme example of the earnestness of such claimants is the Dillingham family, who claimed several sections of the Big Ivy Timber Co. lands near Mt. Mitchell. According to a 1914 leter from Thomas Cox, examiner of surveys, Ed Dillingham went so far as to build a fence around one of his Big Ivy claims, and "has gone to every length to forceably stop the survey and have me arrested."[21]

An unusual example of overlapping claims to ownership involved the Olmstead lands in the Nantahala Purchase Unit. In 1868, the Treasury Department had taken possession of the lands of E.B. Olmstead (not to be confused with Frederick Law Olmstead) who was convicted of embezzling funds from the U.S. Post Office Department. In 1912 these lands were transferred from Treasury to the Secretary of Agriculture. No Federal survey of the lands had occurred until the Forest Service came in 1913; before then, the "local populace were not generally aware of the Government's claim to ownership."[22] Consequently, there were scores of claims against portions of the land, 22 of which were not resolved until passage of the Weaver Act in 1934 which granted possession to all claimants and thus assured them of payment, and the U.S. Government of *bona fide* deeds.[23]

Perhaps the most serious example of overlapping claims involved the Little River Lumber Co. lands in Tennessee. Failure to established clear title eventually led to the abolishment of the Smoky Mountains Purchase Unit, and thus influenced dramatically the course of history in the area.

As early as 1912, surveyors and examiners were cruising the large acreage of the Little River Lumber Co. and nearby smaller tracts of the Smoky Mountains unit. Several small landowners offered to sell right away, and by 1913 their proposals had been accepted by the National Forest Reservation Commission. By 1915 at least 8,050 acres in five separate units of the Little River Lumber Co. had also been approved for purchase.[24] However, no land in the Smokies was ever actually purchased. Titles predating occupancy by the Little River Lumber Co. were simply difficult, if not impossible, to clear to the Government's satisfaction. With the onset of World War I, the company, unable to wait for Federal title searches any longer, cancelled its offers of sale, and the purchase unit was subsequently rescinded.[25] With Forest Service interest in the area abandoned, in 1923 a movement began to promote the idea of a National Park in the Great Smoky Mountains.

Reactions to Federal Purchase

From the evidence available, it appears that the initial reaction of the people in the Southern Appalachians to the coming of the Forest Service was generally favorable in spite of some skepticism and distrust. Two written comments on early popular reaction to Weeks Act purchases came from Forest Service personnel. D.W. Adams, timber cruiser, wrote to Forester William Hall in September 1911, from Aquone, N.C., "The people generally, particularly on the Mt. Mitchell Unit, have been decidedly skeptical as to the purchase of lands by the government . . ." Verne Rhoades, forest examiner, a graduate of the Biltmore School of Forestry, and later the first supervisor of the Pisgah National Forest, writing of the Unaka area in February 1912, reported that "The people in general regard most favorably the movement on the part of the government to purchase these mountain lands."[26]

The large number of tracts quickly offered for sale testifies to a generally favorable reaction. For timber companies, sale to the Government offered an opportunity to rid themselves of cutover, useless land, or lands which, even though finely timbered, were inaccessible or steep. Sale to the Government thus offered payoffs for their speculation and risk and a lightening of their tax burdens. For small landholders, Forest Service acquisitions offered an undreamed-of profit on lands that no one else would pay for. The "lands nobody wanted"—if they were in the right place—were wanted by the Forest Service.[27]

The prices paid by the Forest Service were respectably high, especially in the early years. The Federal purchase process itself contributed to high land values. As O.D. Ingall, Forest Service agent, wrote from Andrews, N.C., in May 1912, "the government ties up the land for months and puts the owner to a great deal of trouble and expense." Besides delay, the owner might lose acreage through the careful surveys required and be put to considerable expense to prove title to the government's satisfaction.[28]

In addition, in the early years of acquisition, Forest Service survey teams and timber cruisers sometimes assessed tracts which had not yet been formally offered for sale. In such a case, a wily owner, whose corners had been set and boundaries located at no personal expense, would hold out for a higher price—figuring that the Government would not want to lose the cost of survey.[29] Initially, too, a number of land agents operated throughout the area to obtain a fee for boosting a seller's price. William Hall, Assistant Forester, wrote in September 1911:

> The effect of the work of agents in offering lands under the Weeks Act is in most cases bad. They tend to increase the price of land above what it ought to be and will make it difficult for the government to buy at a reasonable price.[30]

As early as April 1911, the National Forest Reservation Commission discussed the role of agents and determined to deal only with owners themselves. Hall warned his land acquisition teams to "be on . . . guard at all times" against such unscrupulous agents.[31]

Although there were some landowners who, in ignorance, asked too low a price and others who sacrificed land for sure money, on the whole, the southern mountaineers had become sophisticated negotiators and traders. The willingness of small landowners to sell their land depended in part on whether other owners in the area had already sold. R. Clifford Hall, forest assistant, noted in 1913 that it required "much time and patience" to deal with the "wavering" small landowners of the Hiwassee area of extreme northern Georgia.[32] A year later he found negotiation even more difficult:

> The small owners of this section are very hard to deal with, as all the 'traders' have sold out to the various buyers that have scoured the country. Where the land is so located adjacent to what we are getting as to be especially desirable, and the owner talks as if he might sell but will not sign a proposal, we should make the valuation now in order to be able to name a price and get a legal option without delay when he happens to be in a 'trading humour'.[33]

It was in considering such problems of price negotiation that the National Forest Reservation Commission discussed the use of condemnation. Although the Weeks Act did not make a specific provision for condemnation, the Commission assumed it had such authority.[34] William Hall, for one, felt that if the people know condemnation was a possibility, they would be more willing to sell at reasonable prices.[35] Nevertheless, the Commission determined it was "inexpedient" to condemn—except to clear title—and best to proceed with purchase as far as possible. This early decision by the Commission is a policy still followed by the Forest Service.

In spite of the generally high prices offered for the earliest purchases, as time went on and the delays between offer and survey, or between recommendations for purchase and payment, lengthened, the acquisition process could bring frustration, disillusionment, and anger. In the Smoky Mountains Unit, for example, Forest Examiner Rhoades noted in 1913 that several small landowners, who had been asked to discontinue milling operations while their tracts were being considered by the Commission, were becoming "restless and dissatisfied."[36] Similarly, a mill operator on the Burke McDowell tract near Mt. Mitchell, who had suspended operations during examination and survey, was reported to be "exceedingly reluctant to quit manufacturing timber and . . . very impatient with McDowell . . ."[37] In 1915, in the Mt. Mitchell area, the elderly J.M. Bradley had been waiting for his money for so long that his relatives "were afraid that he would lose his mind over it."[38] J.W. Hendrix of Pilot, Ga., threatened in 1914 to stop the sale of his over-350 acres if the Forest Service did not proceed more rapidly:

> I am in neede of money and I am ready to close the deal. I am going to give you a little time to cary out this contract, and if you do not take the matter up in a reasonable length of time, I will cansel the sale of this property. [*sic.*][39]

And Miss Lennie Greenlee of Old Fort, N.C., wrote to Ashe that:

> the time-killing propensities of this band of surveyors is notorious, although were the saying reported to them they would revenge themselves by doubling the gap of time between them and my survey.[40]

The First National Forests

As stated in the Secretary of Agriculture's Report to Congress in December 1907, the original thought behind the establishment of the eastern National Forests was that 5 million acres in the Southern Appalachians and 600,000 acres in the White Mountains should be acquired. By 1912, these numbers still appeared appropriate, but it was determined unnecessary to purchase all the land within any given purchase unit; between 50 and 75 percent was considered enough.[41] According to Henry Graves' *Report of the Forester* for 1912:

> There is every reason to believe that the purpose of the government may be fully subserved by the acquisition of compact bodies each containing from 25,000 to 100,000 acres well suited for protection, administration and use.[42]

Four Million Acres Acquired by 1930

Purchase of land for National Forests in the East continued fairly steadily throughout the two decades of 1911-31. By the end of fiscal year 1930, 4,133,483 acres had been acquired under the Weeks Act. The first Weeks Act appropriation of $11 million lasted for 8 years, through fiscal year 1919; only $600,000 was appropriated in 1920, and $1 million in 1921. Throughout the 1920's, typically about one-half of what the Forest Service requested was appropriated.[43] The number of acres purchased in any given year was primarily dependent upon funds available; there always were, and still are (1982), more tracts offered for sale than appropriated money could purchase.

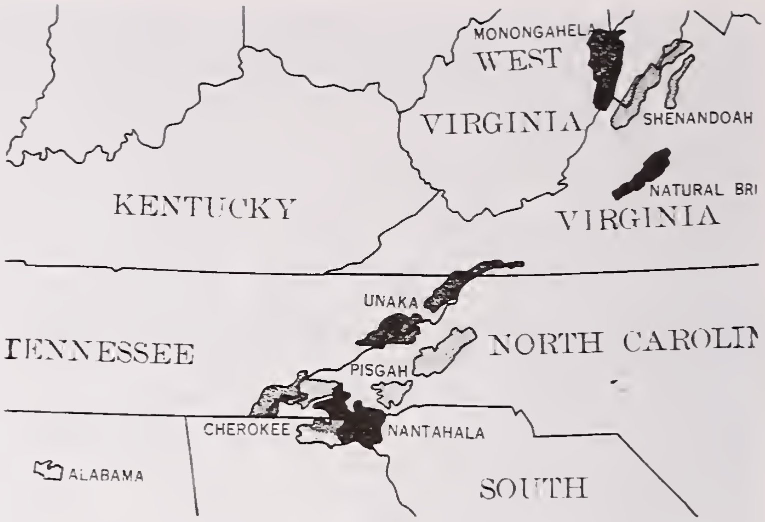


Figure 27.—The National Forests of the Southern Appalachians in 1921. The Pisgah was established in 1916, the Shenandoah, Natural Bridge, and Alabama in 1918, and the Nantahala, Monongahela, Cherokee, and Unaka all in 1920. (Forest Service map and photo)

In the Southern Appalachians, Weeks Act acquisitions were heaviest between 1911 and 1916, when some of the largest tracts of today's Pisgah, Nantahala, Chattahoochee, Cherokee, and Jefferson Forests were purchased. Most land was purchased in large tracts of more than 2,000 acres. Indeed, some 60 percent of the Nantahala National Forest was acquired from only 22 sellers, mostly lumber companies or land investment concerns. About 80 percent of the Pisgah National Forest was purchased from 29 sellers. The largest tract from a single owner was its nucleus of 86,700 acres from the Biltmore Estate.

Vanderbilt had had his lands preliminarily surveyed shortly after the Weeks Act passed. Purchase negotiations began in 1913, when members of the National Forest Reservation Commission, Chief Forester Graves, and other Forest Service personnel visited the Biltmore estate and Vanderbilt's hunting lodge on Mt. Pisgah. Vanderbilt died before a purchase agreement was reached, but after his death, his widow, Edith Vanderbilt, consummated the sale on May 21, 1914, for $433,500. This vast, cohesive tract became the core of the first National Forest in the Appalachians, the Pisgah, on October 17, 1916. With a gross acreage of over 355,000, only 53,810 acres had actually been purchased in 1916, but an additional 34,384 acres had been approved. On November 7, 1916, President Wilson proclaimed Pisgah a National Game Preserve as well.

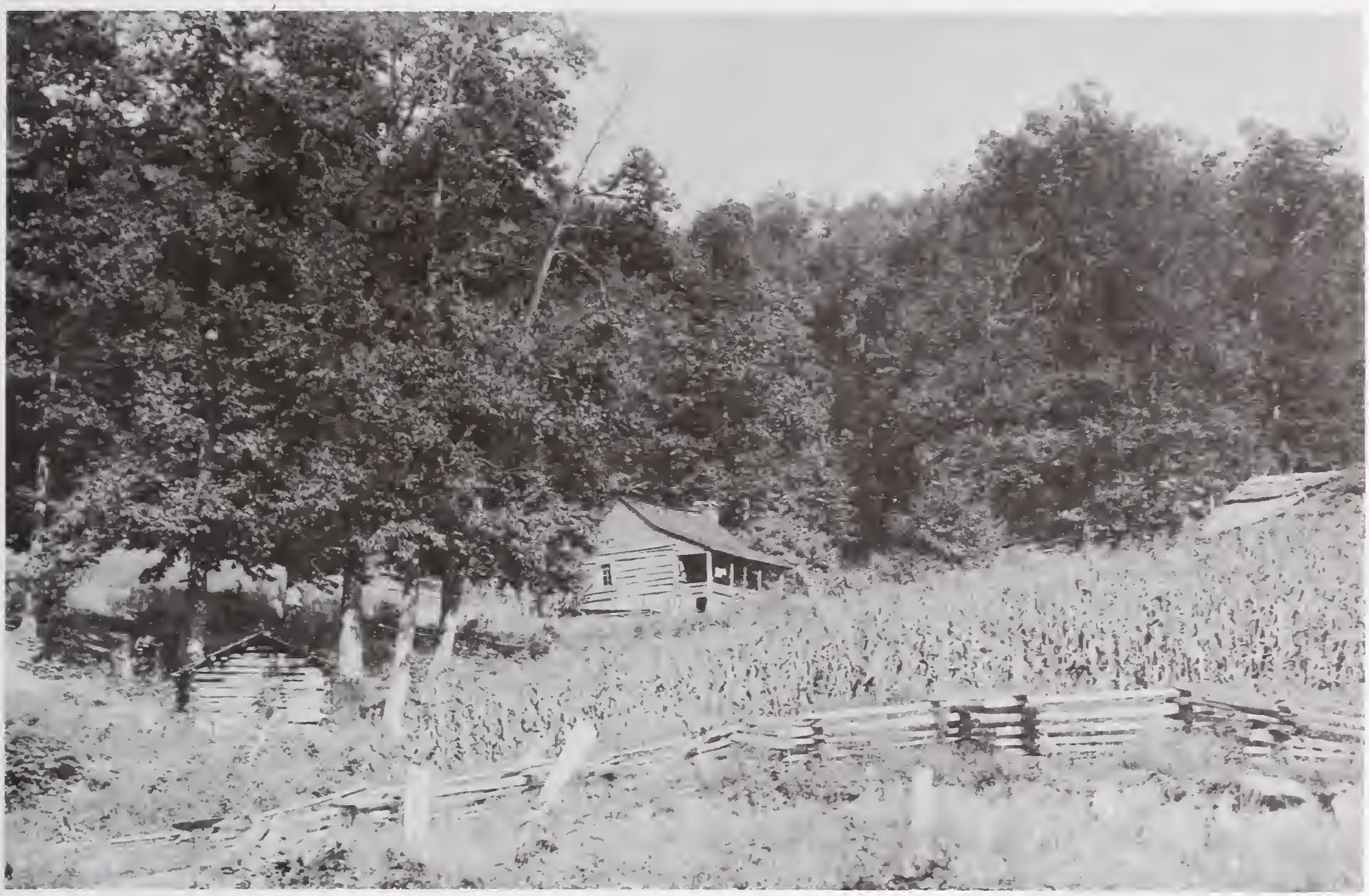


Figure 28.—Mountain farm with expanded log house surrounded by forest, Carter County, Tenn., on Unaka National Forest, September 1926. This area became part of the Cherokee National Forest in 1936. The old Unaka Forest was established in July 1920 after several years as a Purchase Unit. (NA:95G-212633)

In 1918, the Natural Bridge National Forest was created in western Virginia. Then, in 1920, four more National Forests were proclaimed in the Southern Appalachians: the Boone in North Carolina (January 16, 1920); the Nantahala in North Carolina, Georgia, and South Carolina (January 29, 1920); the Cherokee in Tennessee (June 14, 1920); and the Unaka in Tennessee, North Carolina, and Virginia (July 24, 1920). Of these, only the Nantahala and Cherokee names remain: the Boone was joined to the Pisgah in March 1921; the Unaka was partitioned among the Pisgah, Jefferson, and Cherokee in 1923 and 1936. Until 1936 when the Chattahoochee and Sumter National Forests were proclaimed, the boundaries of the forests and purchase units in the area were somewhat fluid.

After the establishment of the first five National Forests in the southern mountains, the National Forest Reservation Commission turned its attention over the next decade to other eastern areas. Noticeable progress having been made toward protection of the headwaters of navigable waterways, the Commission broadened its perspective; by 1923 the members felt the National Forest system should be extended to all Eastern States, "to arouse the interest of landowners in these states in managing their properties for permanent timber production."[45] After a select Congressional Committee headed by Senator Charles McNary and Representative John Clarke met in 1923, this idea became embodied in the Clarke-McNary Act of 1924, which expanded the Weeks Act.[46] This act allowed purchases outside of navigable river headwaters. It also expanded Federal-State cooperation in fire protection and in production and distribution of seeds and seedlings for forest planting. Under Clarke-McNary, new purchase units were established in the southern coastal plains and Great Lakes States.

On March 3, 1925, the Weeks Law Exchange Act was passed, making consolidation of existing Forests easier in times of limited funding.[47] Under the Act, the Secretary of Agriculture can accept title to lands within the boundaries of National Forests in exchange for National Forest land or timber that does not exceed the offered land in value. This authority was used increasingly throughout the 1920's and after World War II, when Reservation Commission goals vastly exceeded the funds available. Thus, lands in the Southern Appalachian mountains continued to be acquired, although after 1920 the average size of the tracts and their quality decreased.

Forest Purchases Reduce Population, Farms

By 1930 the Forest Service had been a presence in the southern mountains for almost two decades. Within the purchase units and National Forests themselves, Federal lands were interspersed with those still held in private hands in an almost patchwork pattern of landownership. Inhabitants within and adjacent to National Forest boundaries were affected not only by the land acquisition program but by the ways in which the Forest Service managed its lands.

One of the most obvious effects of the first National Forest purchases in the Southern Appalachians was a decline in population growth and a decline in both farm acreage and number of farms. Although most of the first acreage purchased was timber company-owned, hundreds of small farms were acquired as well. In areas where many small landowners sold, the decline in population growth and in number of farms was marked.

This trend was especially evident in selected counties of northern Georgia where outmigration had been occurring before 1912. Union County, for example, whose population had declined by over 18 percent between 1900 and 1910, experienced another 7 percent decline between 1910 and 1920. Rabun County, where population had declined over 11 percent in the previous decade, experienced a population growth well below the State average between 1910 and 1920. Fannin and Towns Counties likewise experienced either no growth or an absolute population loss. This trend of population decline or slowing of growth, however, was not nearly so pronounced between 1920 and 1930.

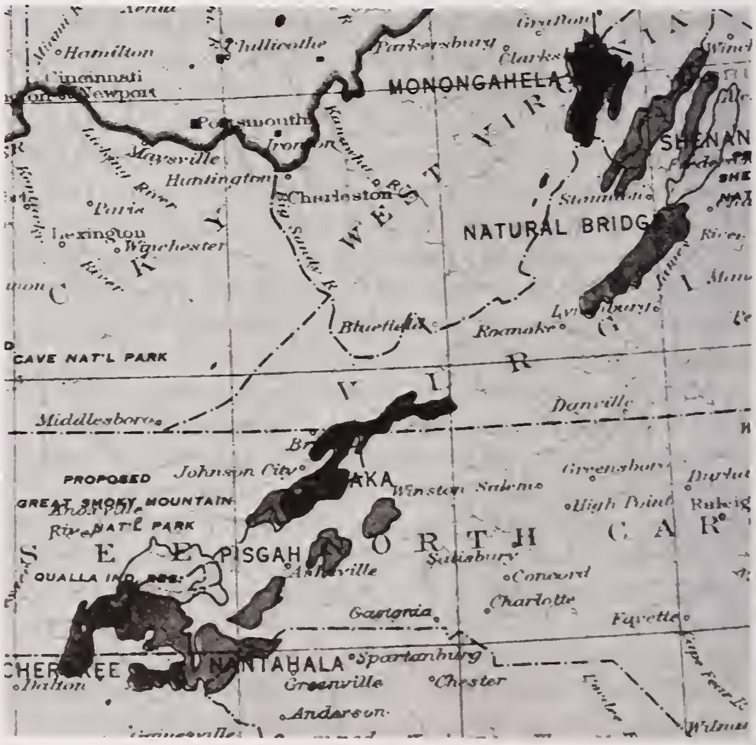
A similar slowing of population growth took place in counties of North Carolina and Tennessee where large numbers of tracts were purchased early. For example, in Polk County, Tenn., population grew by only 0.9 percent between 1910 and 1920 (the State as a whole grew by 14 percent). In Macon and Graham Counties, North Carolina, population growth was only 6 and 3 percent respectively over the same decade. Yet, in adjacent Swain County—part of the Smoky Mountains Purchase Unit where no Forest Service acquisition occurred—population grew by 27 percent.[48]

Early acquisitions for National Forests are also reflected in agricultural statistics. In Georgia, North Carolina, and Tennessee, the number of farms increased between 1910 and 1920, but, in counties experiencing heavy National Forest purchases, the number of farms declined. In Fannin and Rabun Counties, Ga., and in Buncombe and McDowell Counties, N.C., this decline was between 11 and 13 percent. The decline in farm acreage was more dramatic. The number of acres in farms dropped 39 percent in Rabun County, Ga., 37 percent in Buncombe County, N.C., 22 percent in Fannin County, Ga., and 21 percent in North Carolina's Macon County.[49] (This trend continued between 1920 and 1930, although the percentage decline in acreage was slightly less.) Thus, at least for selected counties, in areas where Federal land acquisition was initially extensive, there was a decided change both in demographics and in the pattern of landownership and land use.

Evidence of the mountaineers' first reaction to the coming of the Forest Service, beyond the letters already cited, is almost nonexistent. For example, a search through the *Asheville Citizen* from 1910 to 1920, reveals "little local reaction to the creation of the National Forest Reserves." Indeed, Eller has concluded that "most local residents reacted indifferently to the legislation."[50] It was not until Forest Service personnel arrived in the mountains that the consequences of the Weeks Act could be understood, and even then it does not appear that the people's reactions were reflected in the local newspapers.

When Forest Service staff first appeared in the purchase units and early ranger districts, they were the object of some suspicion and distrust. Ranger Roscoe C. Nicholson, the first, and for many years, district ranger in Clayton, Rabun County, Ga., wrote about this early reaction:

> For several years the people . . . did not seem to know what to think of the government owning this land. Some of them did not like the idea of taking the land out from under taxation. Some thought they would be forced to sell their land and have to move out. Perhaps most of them thought at first that if they were stopped from burning out the woods they would never have any more free range and that the insects and other pests would destroy their crops.[51]


Hamilton
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Parkersburg
Clarksburg
Cincinnati
Newport
MONONGAHELA
Portsmouth
Ironton
Maysville
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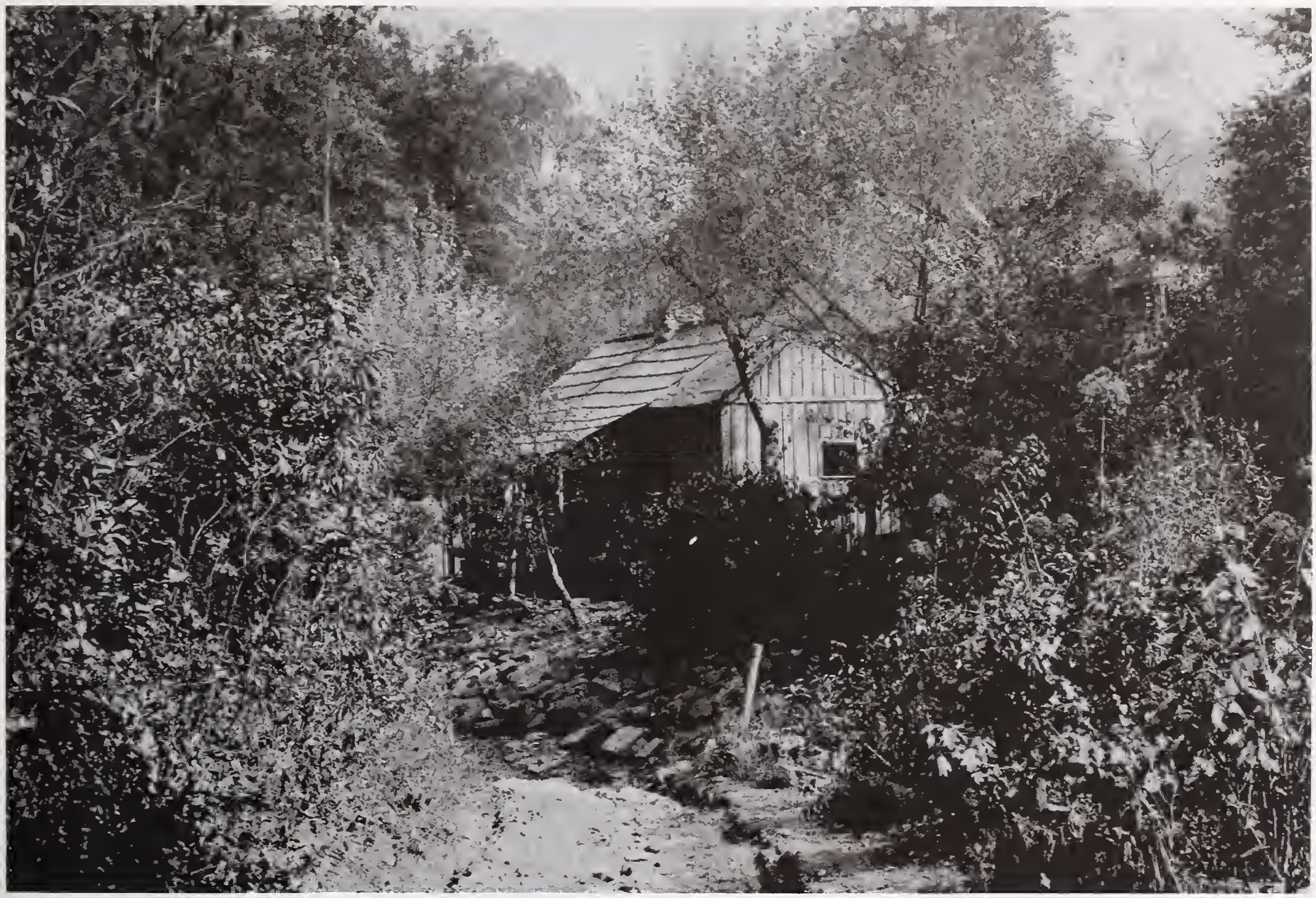
Charleston
Paris
Lexington
Winchester
WEST VIRGINIA
SHENANDOAH
Staunton
NATURAL BRIDGE
Lynchburg
Bluefield
Roanoke
CAVE NAT'L PARK
Middlesboro
Danville
Johnson City
PROPOSED GREAT SMOKY MOUNTAIN NAT'L PARK
Knoxville
Winston Salem
Greensboro
High Point
Durham
Raleigh
PISGAH
Asheville
Salisbury
QUALLA IND. RES.
Concord
Charlotte
Gastonia
Fayetteville
CHEROKEE
NANTAHALA
Spartanburg
Greenville
Chester
Dalton
Anderson
NORTH CAROLINA

Figure 29.—The National Forests and proposed National Parks of the Southern Appalachian Mountains in 1930. Areas shaded with diagonal lines are the future Shenandoah National Park in Virginia, Great Smoky Mountains National Park in North Carolina and Tennessee, and Mammoth Cave National Park in Kentucky. The small black dots and squares are State forests. The Qualla Indian Reservation in the Great Smokies was later renamed the Cherokee Indian Reservation. The National Forests are little changed from a decade earlier. (Forest Service map and photo)



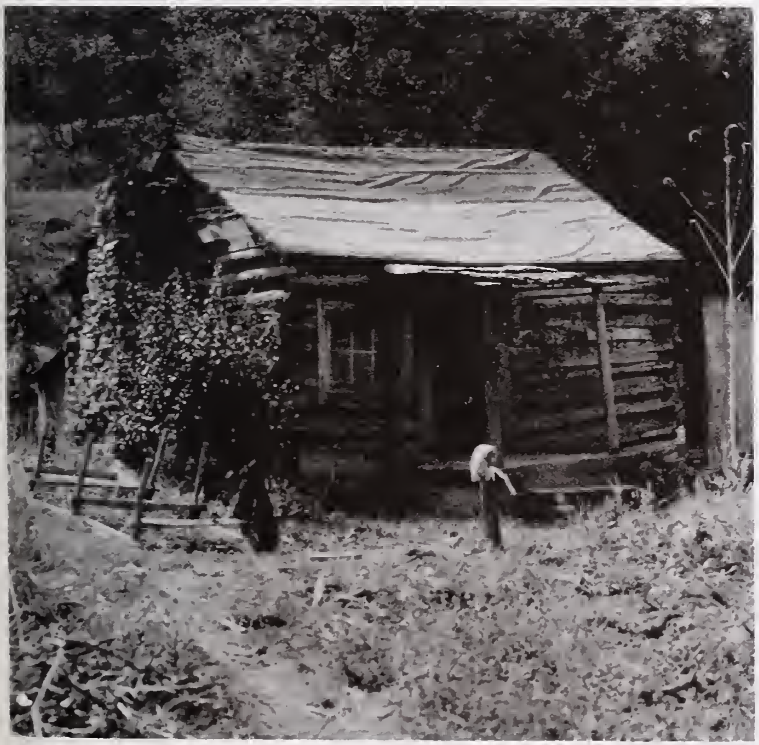


Figure 30.—Subsistence mountain farm homes on wagon track, surrounded by forest, in Lee County, Ky., near Kentucky River about 45 miles southeast of Winchester, in summer 1926. Lee County, like adjacent Estill County, today has little National Forest land, although much is hilly and forested. (NA:95G-214116)

Figure 31.—Tiny crude inhabited log cabin with a small window and tarpaper roof in Lee County, Ky., summer 1926. Note stoneboat and sunflower stalk in front; also water pump and privy both very close to cabin and each other. Daniel Boone (then Cumberland) National Forest. (NA:95G-214118)

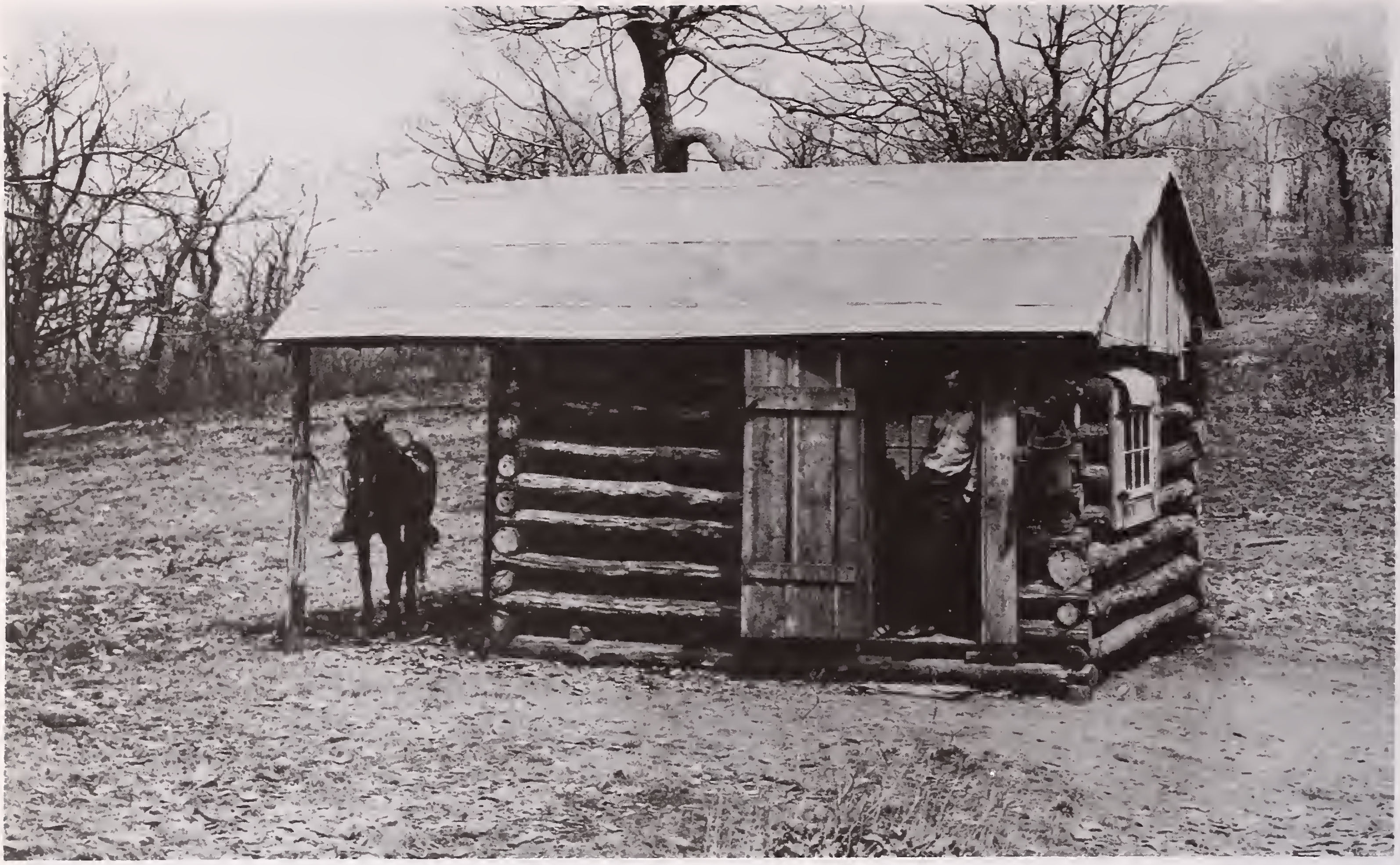


Figure 32.—Log shack used as a temporary camp for Forest Service rangers and fire guards, near Silers Bald, Wayah Ranger District, Nantahala National Forest, west of Franklin, N.C., near present Nantahala Lake, in March 1916. Site was then a Purchase Unit. (NA:95G-27295A)

Many of the early rangers considered themselves highly dedicated considering the animosity they encountered. Former Forest Service supervisor Inman F. Eldredge, a graduate of the Biltmore School of Forestry, remembers that early foresters worked

> . . . in a hostile atmosphere where the settlers in the national forests . . . were against you because the Forest Service hemmed them in. The stock men were against you because you were going to regulate them and make them pay for grazing, count their cattle and limit where they could go . . .The lumbermen were against you from the lumberjack up. They thought you were a silly ass . . . because you limited their action with the axe, and the people at the top thought you were a misguided zealot with crazy notions. People who work in that atmosphere have to have tough hides—dedication.[52]

Forest Fire Control Stressed

Such dedication, and a strong sense of mission, soon produced results. One of the earlier influences of the Forest Service in the Southern Appalachians was the control of fire. Deliberate burning was a traditional method of land management in the region. Such burning usually occurred in the late fall and early spring to clear the woods of snakes and insects, to increase pasturage, and to enrich the soil. Uncontrolled fires had been noted by the first survey and examination parties in 1911, since they delayed surveys and altered land valuations. For example, E.V. Clark, an examiner in Georgia, noted a fire set on private holdings in Lumpkin County which, before being checked burned almost 100 acres of the Gennett tract. Henry Johnson, examiner in the Cherokee area, noted in March 1914 that a week had been spent in firefighting and would continue for a month, "cattle-owners and others being determined to burn the range."[53]

In general, burning was practiced by various segments of the population—the lumbermen, farmers, hunters, railroad men, and mischief makers; violators were seldom convicted, and people seemed generally indifferent to stopping the practice. Yet, as more and more Federal land was acquired, deliberate burning on adjacent or proximate lands was a matter of increasing concern to the Forest Service. One of its early goals was to practice fire control and teach its neighbors to do likewise.

Indeed the Forest Service was extremely concerned about the evils of fire. Within the Forest Service, some dissension developed during the 1930's over the use of fire as a tool of forest management. It had been demonstrated that in the southern coastal pine forests, annual burning, by removing the thick ground cover of pine needles, grass and other vegetation, and disease spores, helped the forests to regenerate and flourish. This discovery, however, was suppressed as harmful to the overall fire control effort, and the dominant official view of fire as a universal enemy to the forest prevailed.[54] There is certainly no evidence that anyone in the Forest Service suggested that annual burning of the Southern Appalachian hardwood forests was a useful management technique. The Forest Service was completely unsympathetic with the local custom of burning the mountain woods.

Fire control on National Forest lands in the Southern Appalachians began almost immediately with their establishment. Ranger Nicholson described the early fire prevention work in Rabun County, Ga.:

> Forest guards were appointed at a salary of $50 a month and went out on their tasks on horseback. There were then no towers or telephone lines. It was not until 1915 that the first telephone line was built from Clayton to Pine Mountain.[55]

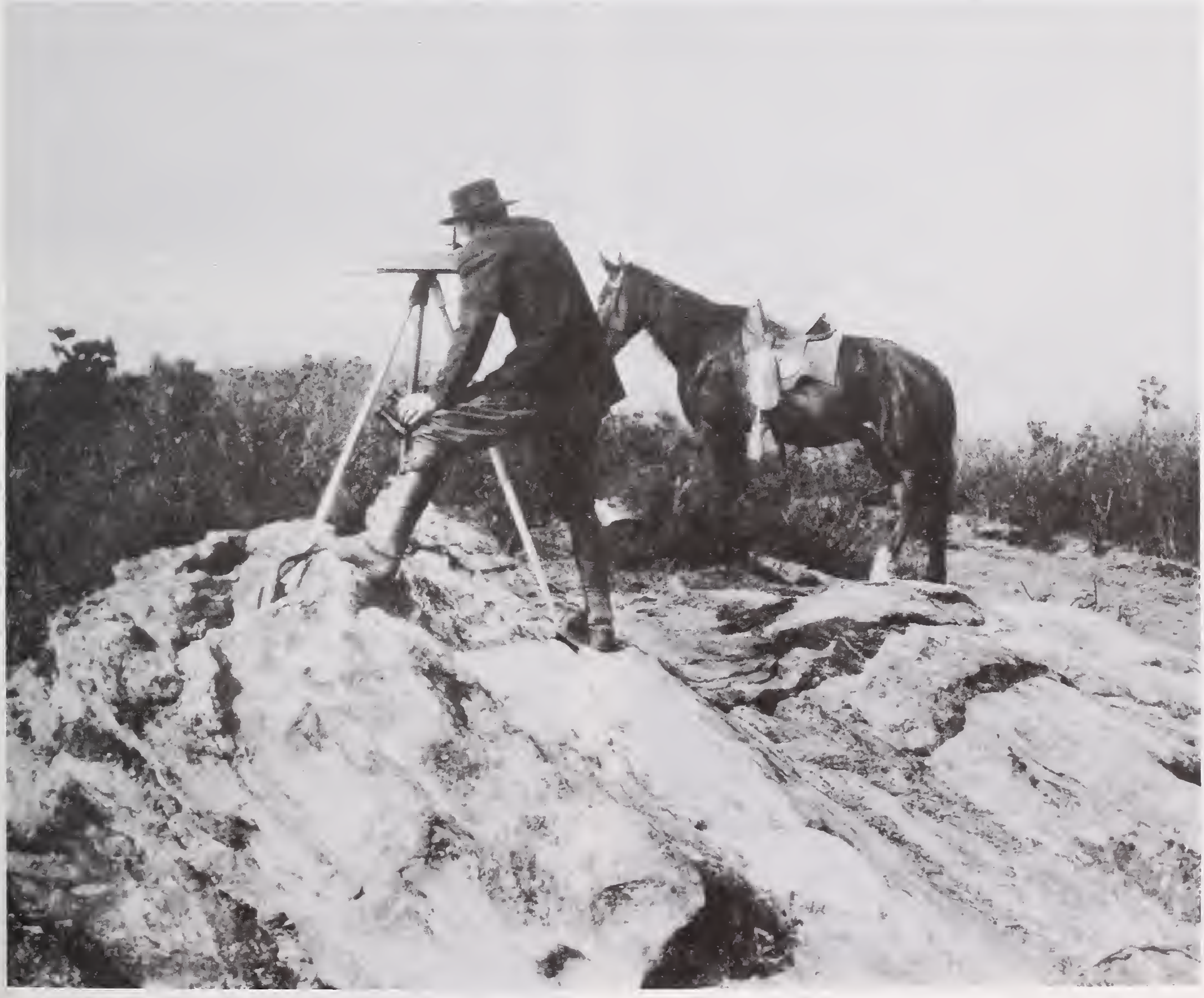
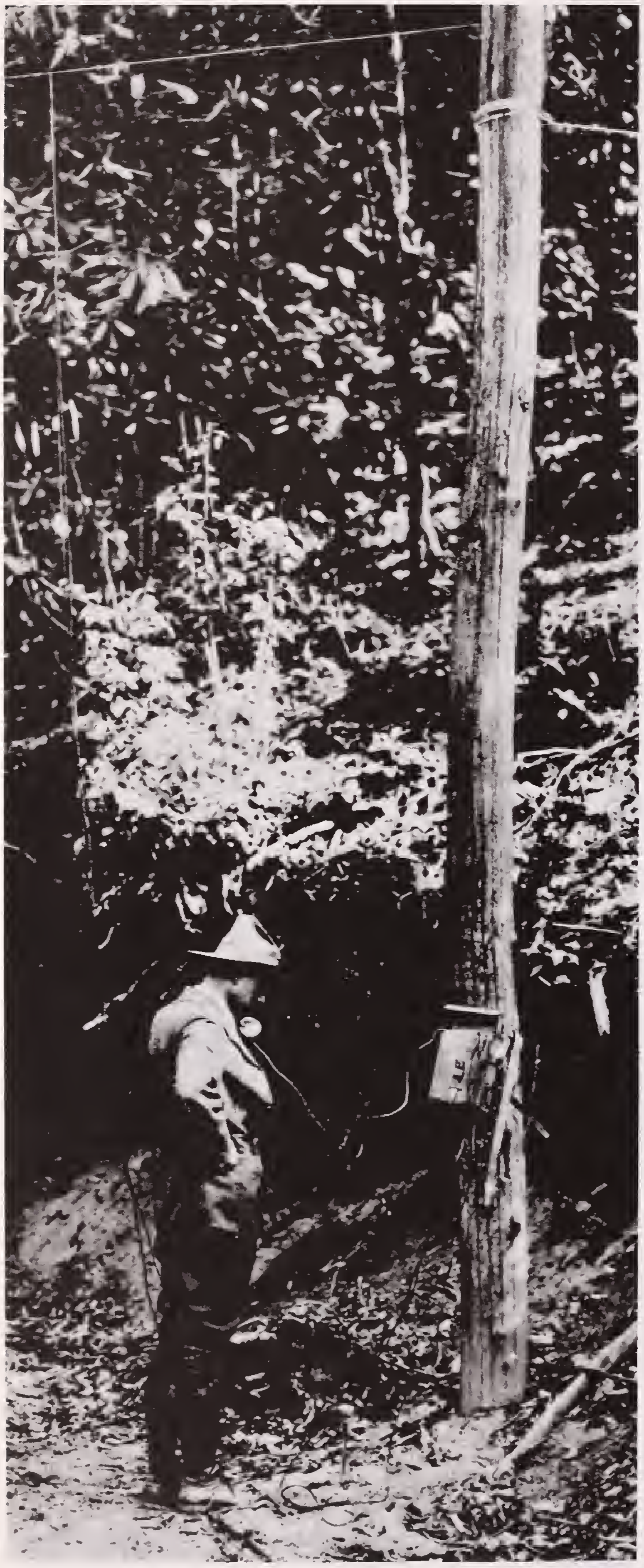


Figure 33.—Forest Service ranger on top of Satulah Mountain near Highlands, N.C., using an alidade to locate on his map a forest fire to the northeast in the direction of Chimney Top Mountain on the old Savannah Purchase Unit in April 1916. Note binoculars. This area near South Carolina and Georgia became part of the Nantahala National Forest in January 1920. (NA:95G-27296A)



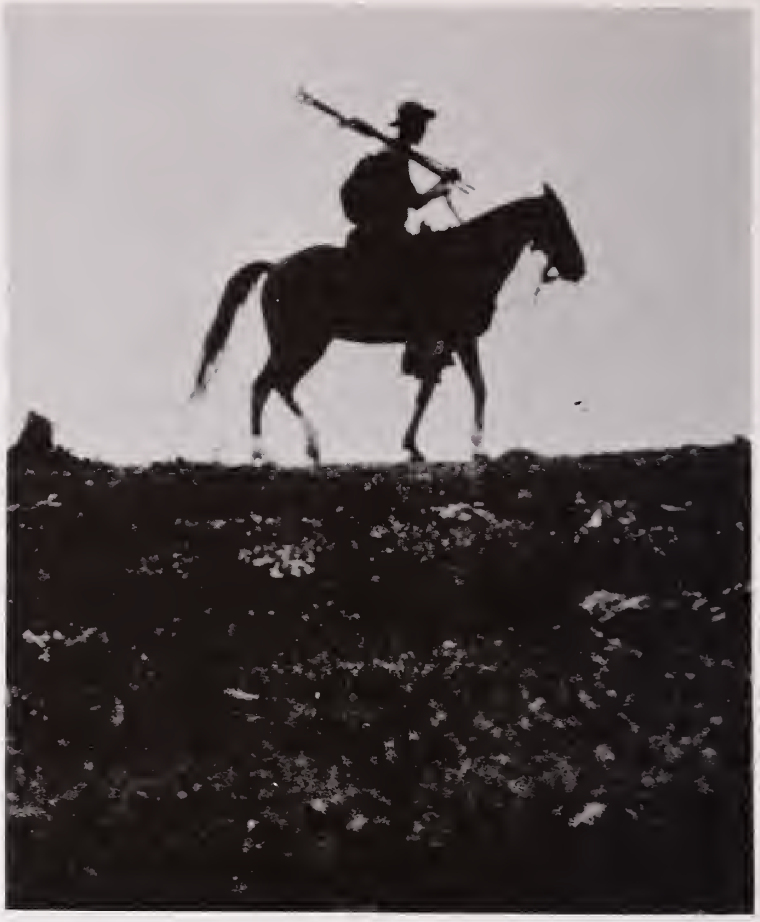


Figure 34.—Pisgah National Forest officer using a portable telephone hooked up to a newly installed Forest Service field line. Note wire hanging down from the overhead wire strung through the woods. The Pisgah was still a Purchase Unit when photo was taken in April 1916; it was officially established as the first purchased National Forest in the United States in October 1916. (NA:95G-27361A)

Figure 35.—A mounted Forest Service firefighter carrying hay rakes and a brushhook on his way to a forest fire on the Pisgah National Forest in 1923. (NA:95G-176511)

The rangers generally enrolled several local men to serve as forest guards and firefighters. These men helped to spread the new idea of fire control throughout the community. The Forest Service spent nearly $100,000 for fire control in the Smoky Mountains Purchase Unit before it was rescinded. Local firefighters, construction crews, and trail builders were hired. A fire tower was built at Rich Mountain, near Hot Springs, now in the Pisgah National Forest, and a preliminary network of trails constructed.[56]

One of the main provisions of the Weeks Act was to establish a system of Federal-State cooperation to prevent and control forest fires. The South was the most deficient area of the United States in organized fire protection. When the Weeks Act was passed, no Southern Appalachian State had passed a fire protection law. The Weeks Act, by providing Federal funds (about $2,000 in the early years) to match State funds to support qualifying fire protection programs, thus encouraged legislatures to meet Federal standards.

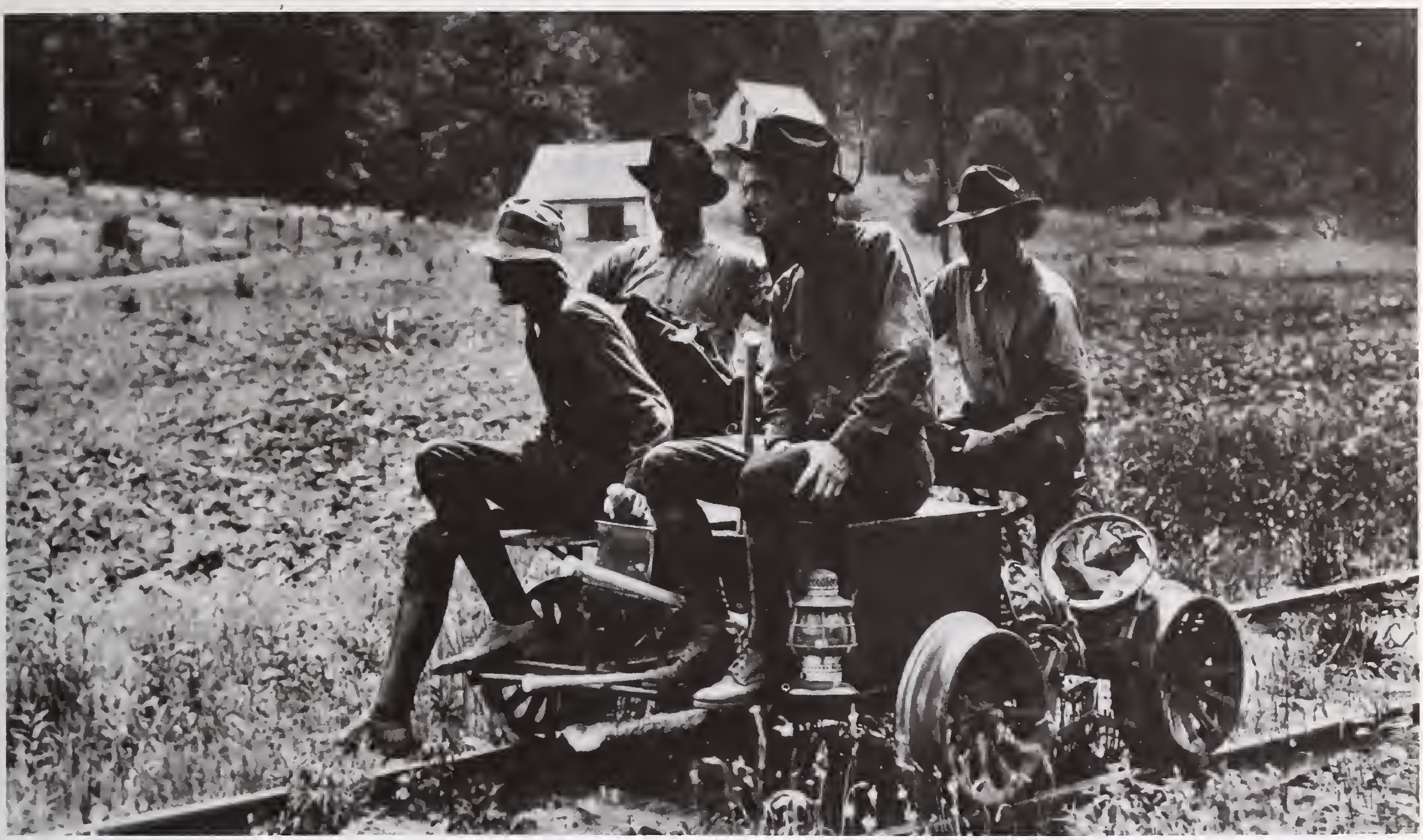


Figure 36.—Four-man crew on way to forest fire on railroad handcar, with various hand tools including pulaski, axes, pitchforks, canvas bucket, and lantern. Pisgah National Forest, N.C., 1923. (NA:95G-176444)

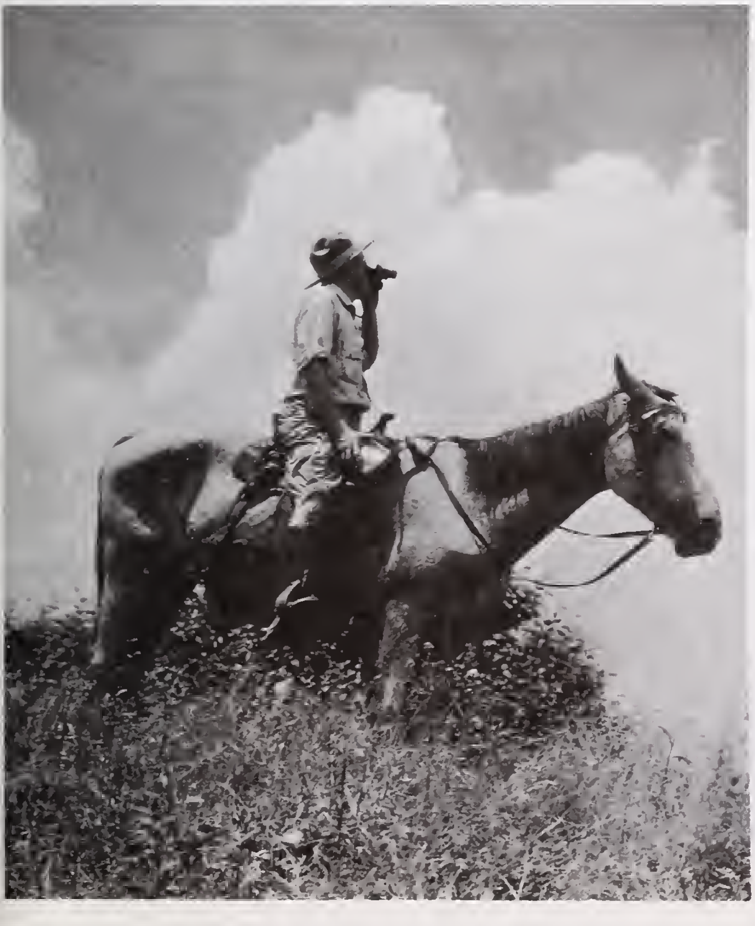


Figure 37.—Mounted Forest Service ranger, Lorenzo Jared, on Green Ridge, Bald Mountains, in French Broad District, Pisgah National Forest, using field glasses to look for signs of smoke of forest fires. Spot is near Hot Springs, N.C., and Tennessee State line, in spring 1930. (NA:95G-238056)

Kentucky revamped its forest fire laws in 1912, appointed a State Forester, and began receiving Weeks Act fire protection funds; its first forest fire protection association was organized in Harlan County in 1914. Virginia appointed a State Forester in 1914; in 1915 fire patrols were started in several far western counties (on lands all of which later became part of the Jefferson National Forest), and the State began receiving Weeks Act fire funds. In 1915 North Carolina passed a new fire law, appointed a State Forester, formed its first fire protection association, and began receiving Weeks Act fire funds. Tennessee hired a forester in 1914, but did not begin receiving Weeks Act fire funds until after it organized a Bureau of Forestry in 1921.[57] After the Clarke-McNary Act provided expanded grants-in-aid for fire protection programs, Georgia in 1925 and South Carolina in 1928 developed State fire control systems.[58]

From available accounts of the period, Forest Service efforts to control and prevent fires in the southern mountains began to show results quite early. In 1920, the National Forest Reservation Commission minutes claimed a "tremendous improvement" in forest cover and regularity of stream flow. "After seven years the effects of the stoppage of fires were beginning to show on several Forests."[59] Nevertheless, throughout the next decade, firefighting continued to engage the activities and funds of most Southern Appalachian forest supervisors.

'Home-Grown' Rangers Do Best

How were the mountaineers persuaded not to burn? According to an early ranger, "it took a great deal of educational work with lectures at schools, moving pictures, and literature to overcome this practice."[60] The effort was a gradual one which evolved as a system of trust developed between the Forest Service and the mountain people. This system was often founded upon the selection and placement of rangers and forest technicians who had grown up in the mountains and knew them well. As the Forest Service *Use Book* of 1915 states, "The most successful rangers are usually those who have been brought up in timber work or on ranches or farms, and who are thoroughly familiar *through long residence*, with the region in which they are employed."[61]

A classic example of a local resident who became an outstanding ranger was W. Arthur Woody, native of northern Georgia, who started as a laborer in 1912 and became a district ranger there July 1, 1918. He retired in 1945. Known for his accomplishment of restocking the forest with deer and protecting wildlife, Woody was also renowned for his ability to get along with the mountaineers of his home. Woody enlisted local boys to help watch for and fight fires and resorted to his own methods of punishing incendiarists. His sons, Clyne and Walter, who also became foresters, as did a nephew and grandson, tell the tale of Woody tracking a fire-setting turkey hunter with a bloodhound, jailing him, and then returning him to the scene of the fire, whereupon the hunter finally confessed.[62]

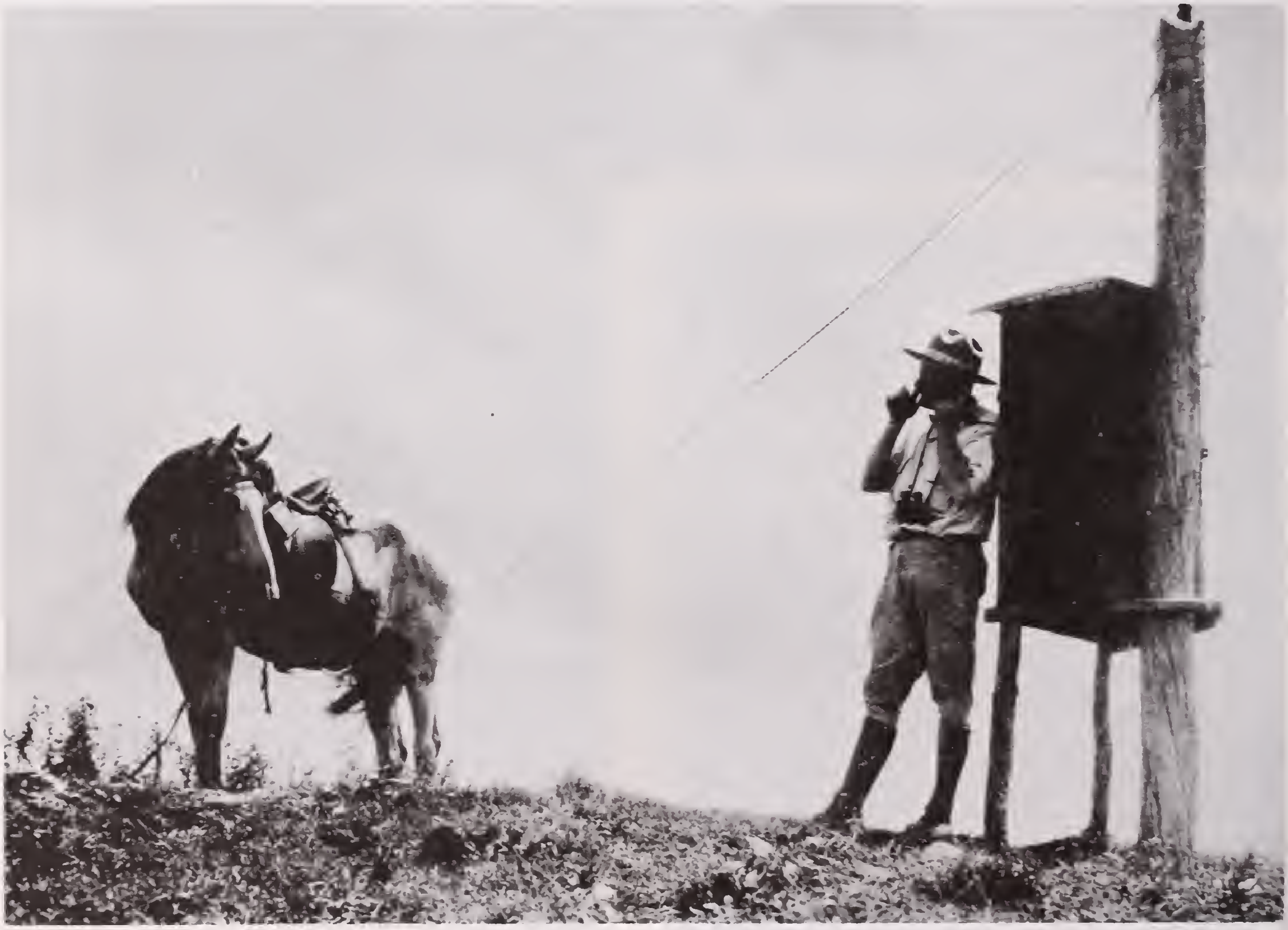


Figure 38.—Lorenzo Jared, French Broad District Ranger, Pisgah National Forest, N.C., talking over field telephone at Butt Mountain Lookout near Tennessee State line, spring 1930. (NA:95G-238057)

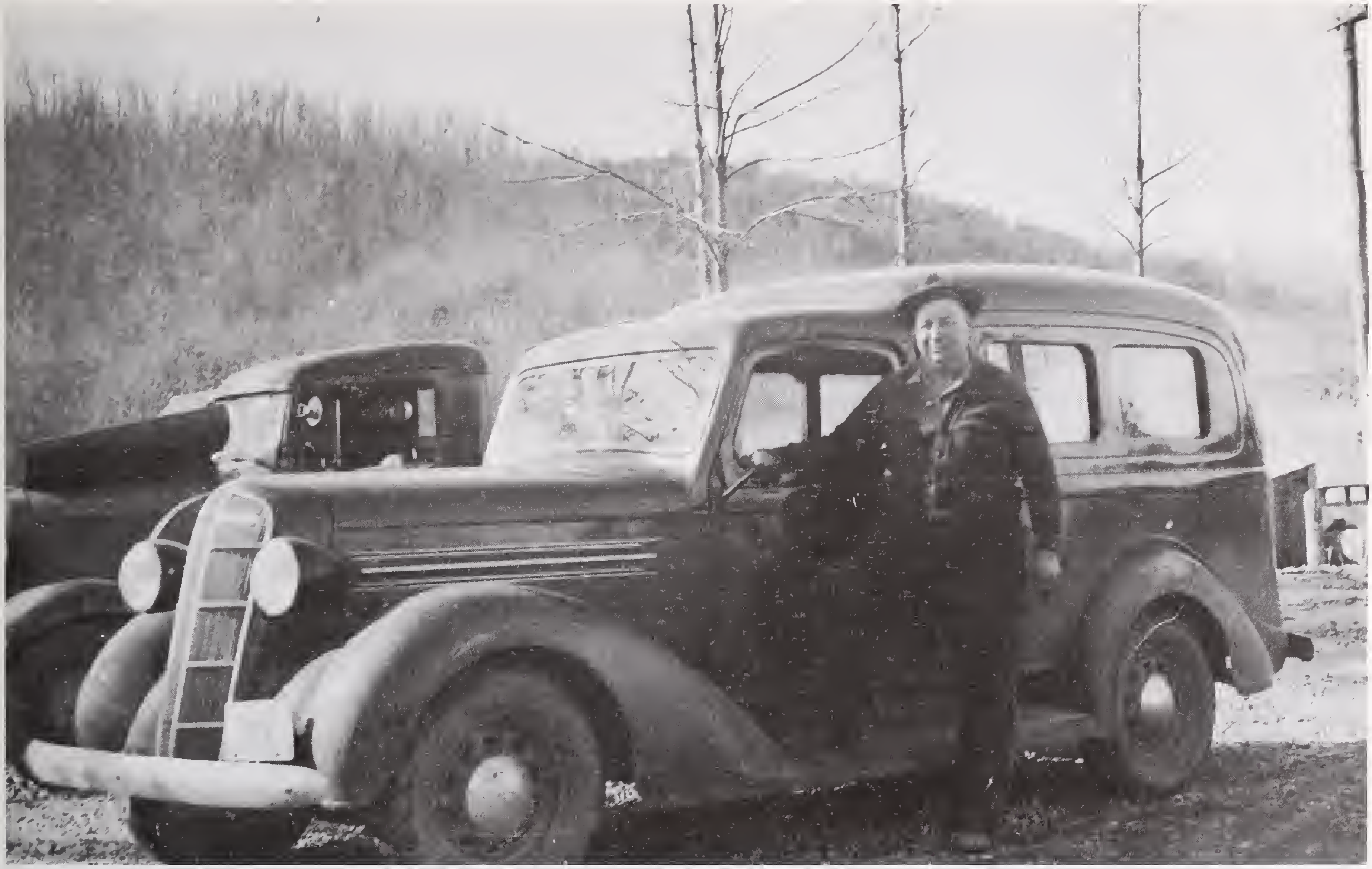


Figure 39.—William Arthur Woody, a real-life legendary Forest Service figure in North Georgia all his adult life. Native to the mountains, he was the senior ranger on the Toccoa and Blue Ridge Districts, Cherokee and Chattahoochee National Forests, from 1918 to 1945. This is an April 1937 photo. (NA:95G-344061)

Ranger Nicholson, of Rabun County, Ga., also employed a bloodhound. Former Regional Forester J. Herbert Stone remembers "Ranger Nick's" special fire prevention program:

> One of the firebugs whom Nick had had his eye on up in that area, Rabun County, had been setting fires each year in the spring to get the country in shape for his stock. The year after the bloodhound's reputation had gotten around, a friend of his asked if he's going to burn the woods that year and he says, "No sir, not me," he says, "I don't want any bloodhound tearing the seat out of my britches." The result was that the fire record for that particular drainage improved tremendously.[63]

Early rangers and foresters hoped, by example, not only to stop the deliberate burning but to encourage the local inhabitants and timber concerns to practice enlightened silviculture and forest conservation as well. As W.W. Ashe has written, "stimulating private owners . . . in developing and applying methods of management" to cutover lands was one of the main purposes of acquiring eastern forests.[64] Evidence suggests that this campaign may not have been so successful as the one against fire.

Throughout the South, the lumber industry as a whole declined after 1909, as small, portable sawmills replaced the large, stationary mills. Many once thriving mill towns had been abandoned as the forests nearby were cut over. In Georgia, for example, the number of lumber mills declined by two-thirds between 1909 and 1919.[65] In North Carolina, over the same decade, the number of lumbering establishments did not decline, but the number of wage earners employed in lumbering and the timber products industry declined by nearly 25 percent.[66]

Logging, of course, continued on National Forest land, managed with an eye toward preservation and profit, sometimes on a large scale. The Carr Lumber Co., for example, extensively logged the Pisgah Forest under a 20-year contract which had been signed by Louis Carr and the Vanderbilts in October 1912. However, National Forest timber sales generally favored small concerns and individual operators. Many such sales were for fence posts, crossties, and tanbark, and in the early years were often made for under $100.[67]

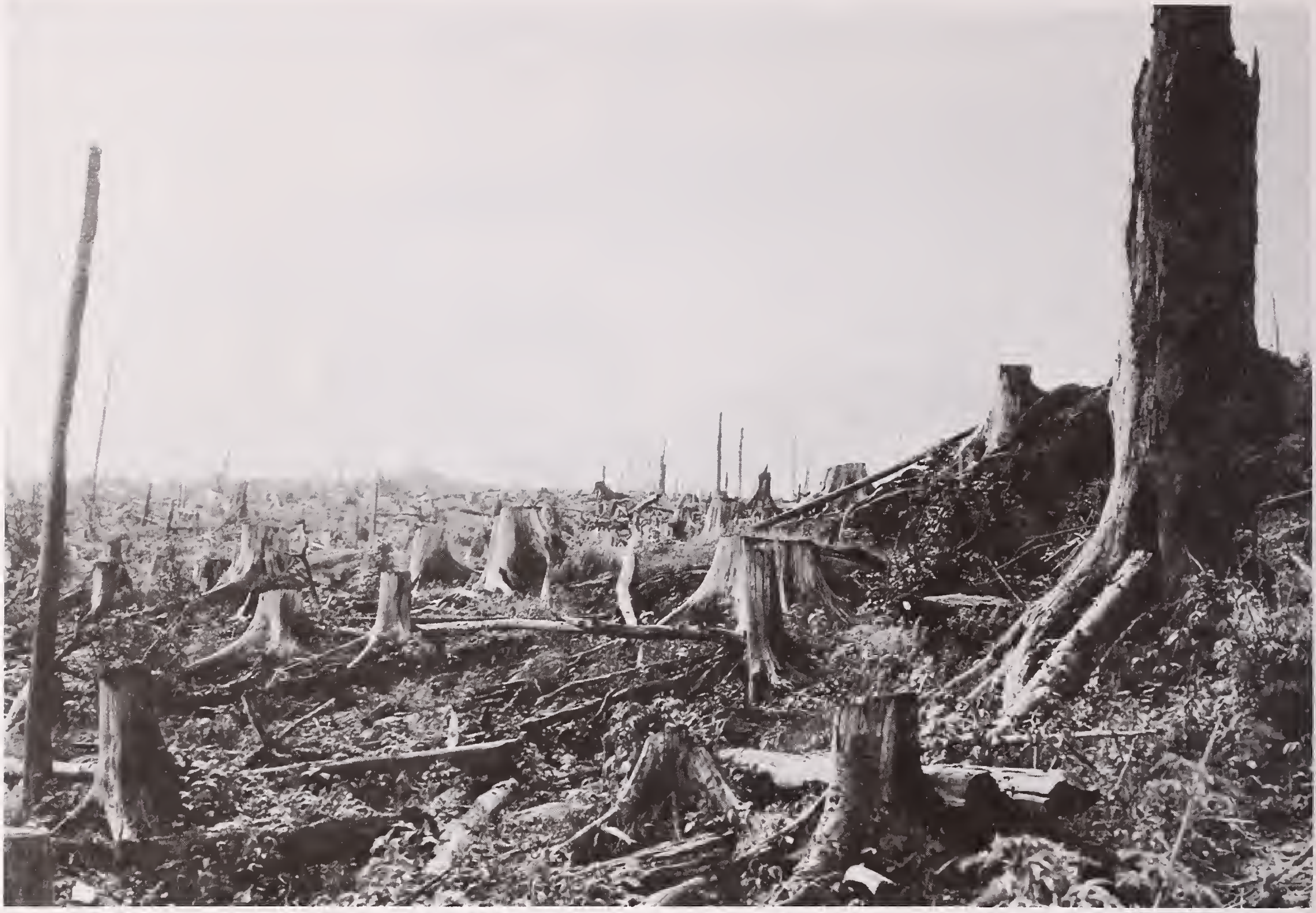


Figure 40.—A dramatic scene of devastation on the slopes of Mt. Mitchell, N.C., after destructive logging and numerous resulting fires, in June 1923. This was typical of the Southern Appalachians then. (NA:95G-176379)

Heavy Timber Cutting Continues

The influence of the Forest Service in controlling timber cutting on private land was less decisive. Certainly, in Kentucky, where no Federal purchases were made until 1933, heavy timber cutting continued throughout the 1920's, partly because many stands in eastern Kentucky did not become really accessible, or economically feasible to log, until that period. In areas where the National Forests had been established, in Tennessee, Georgia, and North Carolina, large-scale destructive lumbering continued. Forester William Hall noted in 1919:

> In most of the larger timber operations in the Southern Appalachians, there has been no change in former methods of cutting except to make the cutting heavier as a result of higher lumber prices.[68]

When the Weeks Act was passed, considerable animosity existed between many local lumbermen and Government foresters. To some extent this animosity can be attributed to the ideological and practical differences between lumbering and forestry which persisted, despite the teachings of Carl Schenck and Austin Cary. As Forester Inman Eldredge stated in his reminiscences of early Forest Service days, many foresters had little experience in using the woods and disparaged those who did:

> You produced the timber and cared for it, and then you turned it over to the roughnecks to cut it up and ship it around. There wasn't any science or art to it . . .[69]

Reciprocally, lumbermen regarded early forestry as frivolous and foolish, in Inman's words, "a parlor game." Inman felt that bad feelings between lumbermen and Pinchot's foresters had been created by the foresters' intense, but sincerely expressed, propaganda against the "timber barons."[70]

Certainly, Andrew Gennett resented the picture he felt was painted of lumbermen as "crooks and rascals," who had "wasted and devastated the vast areas of the forests in the United States."[71] In 1926, Gennett, in cooperation with Champion and Bemis Lumber, bought up a vast acreage in western Graham County, N.C., from an English syndicate, and continued lumbering in his new operations in Clay County, N.C.; Beattysville, Ky., and Ellijay, Ga.[72] Throughout the 1920's, lumbering companies, such as Champion, Sunburst, Andrews, and Hutton and Bourbonnais, continued to clearcut and "high-grade" (cull) huge tracts, many of which, once depleted, were sold to the Forest Service in the mid-1930's.

Knowledge that the Forest Service would eventually buy their lands may have dissuaded some companies from practicing sound silviculture. Nevertheless, by the end of the 1920's, the relationship between the Forest Service and the lumber companies was improving. The lumbermen were beginning to trust the motives of the Federal foresters and were learning to turn Federal purchasing to their advantage. Gennett never cut his large tract in western Graham County, N.C., but sold it to the Forest Service in 1936 and 1937 for the unusually high price of $28.00 per acre. The 19,225-acre tract, containing some of the largest and most varied "virgin" timber in the Southern Appalachians, was steep and inaccessible, and, thus, too costly for Gennett to log. In 1936, 3,800 acres of the tract was set aside as the Joyce Kilmer Memorial Forest (since enlarged and now called Joyce Kilmer-Slickrock Wilderness), which the Forest Service pledged to protect as a place of inspiration and beauty.[73]

Federal land acquisition in the southern mountains had an initial, and continuing, effect on the tax base of all counties in which lands were purchased. Since all lands passing into Federal ownership were no longer taxable, a given county's property tax income was reduced by varying percentages. However, the Weeks Act provided that 5 percent of the receipts from all timber sales on National Forest land within a county went to its treasury for schools and roads. Verne Rhoades, forest examiner, noted in his February 1912 report on the Unaka Purchase Unit that:

> The question of taxation bothers many of . . . the people, especially the smaller owners, who think they will have to meet higher taxes when the land purchased by the government is removed from the total acreage of assessable property.[74]

County Rebate Raised to 25 Percent

The National Forest Reservation Commission considered the issue in 1911, and decided to study the extent to which local communities might be affected. In 1913 the group recommended that 5 percent be changed to 25 percent to provide greater compensation for the tax loss. Whether there was widespread local awareness of the possible loss of tax revenue from Federal acquisition in the early years is not apparent. Some counties undoubtedly suffered a loss by the change, although of those that did, the increase in small timber sales and Federal employment may well have balanced such loss.

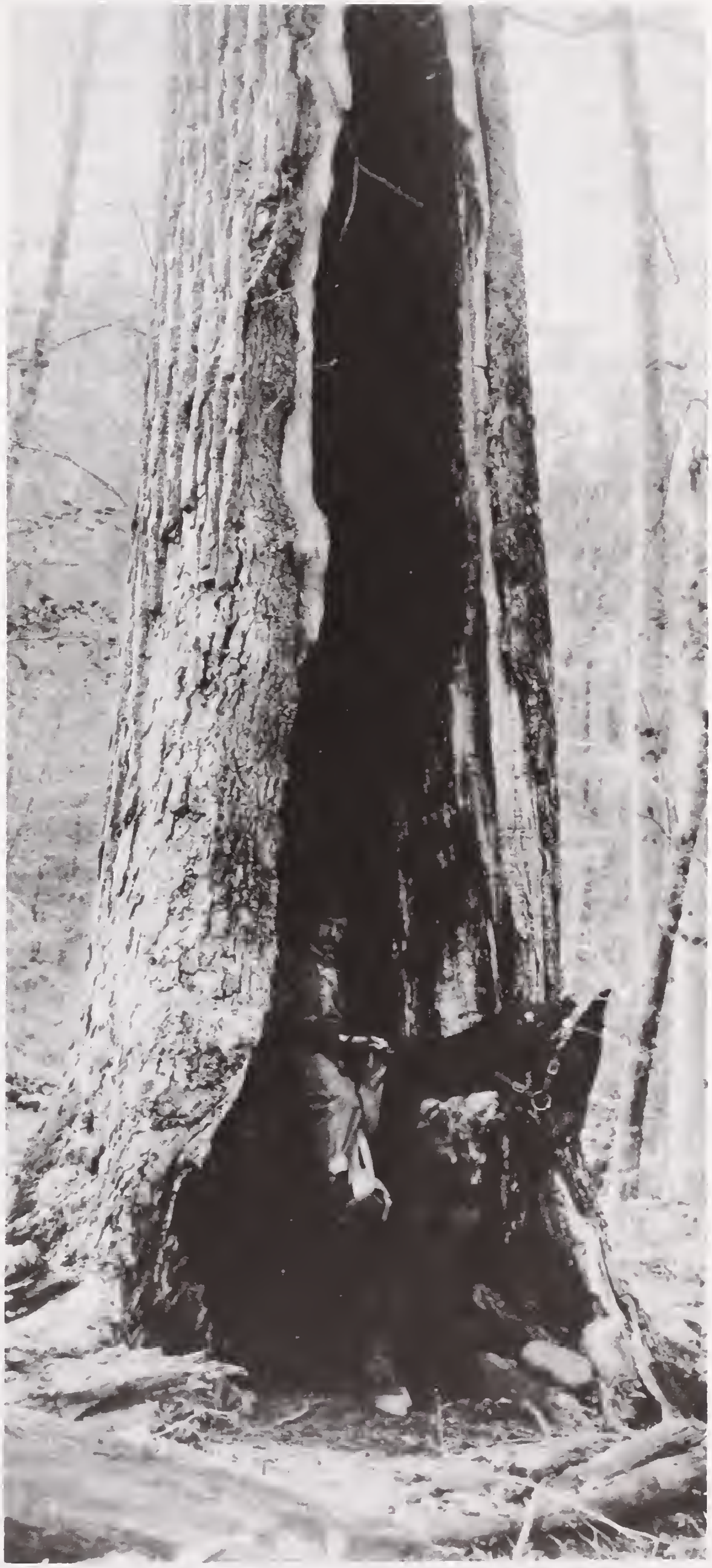


Figure 41.—This huge burned-out yellow-poplar tree, a casualty of repeated forest fires, was long found useful by campers for shelter. Its size is indicated by man on horseback. Photo was taken on Little Santeetlah Creek in Unicoi Mountains, N.C., near Tennessee State line, in March 1916. This area is now part of the Joyce Kilmer-Slickrock Wilderness (formerly Joyce Kilmer Memorial Forest) in the Nantahala National Forest. (NA:95G-27294A)

The Forest Service, even in the earliest years, was a relatively generous employer. When the first survey teams arrived in 1911 and 1912, local men were hired as assistants. When district rangers arrived, men were recruited for fire watching, firefighting, trail building, and the like. Thus, although land sales to the Government often hastened outmigration as former landowners moved to towns for industrial employment, enough new jobs were also created in the forests to occupy both those who remained as tenants on Federal lands and those who lived on adjacent farms.[75]

Many rangers believed they had good relationships with the mountain people. Rangers and forest technicians often became community leaders and friends whom the local people learned to trust. J. Herbert Stone, who came to the Nantahala in 1930 as a technical assistant to the Forest Supervisor, testifies to the goodwill that the Forest Service felt had been built:

> . . . so the relationships and the cooperation received from the people throughout the mountains was very fine. There were of course a few that would want to set fires and who would become provoked when they didn't get just what they wanted, but in the main the relationships between the people and the leaders of the communities was all that could be expected by the time I got there.[76]

In other ways, early Federal land acquisition and land management practices had a more subtle effect. The Forest Service introduced to the Southern Appalachians an element of culture and education which was basically northeastern and urban. In 1919 William Hall went so far as to claim:

> . . . improved standards of living are coming in. Homes are kept in better repair. Painted houses and touches of home adornment are to be observed. Money is available for better food and clothing. The life is different. The people are different. Yet it must be remembered that these are the genuine Appalachian mountaineers who, until a few years ago, had no outlet for their products and none for their energies except the manufacture of moonshine liquor and the maintenance of community feuds.[77]

In spite of Hall's patronizing tone and reliance on the mountaineer stereotype to make his point, the Forest Service was providing leaders who began to earn the respect and loyalty of many local inhabitants and to effect lasting changes in the social and economic structure of mountain life.

Reference Notes

(In the following notes, the expressions "NA, RG 95, FS, OC, NFRC" means National Archives, Record Group 95, Records of the Forest Service, Office of the Chief and Other General Records, Records of the National Forest Reservation Commission, 1911-1976, Series 27. "LA" means Division of Land Acquisition, General Correspondence, Exchange, Purchase, Donation, or Condemnations, Region 8. See Bibliography, IX.)

1. The National Forest Reservation Commission was composed of three Cabinet members, two Senators appointed by the President of the Senate, and two Congressmen appointed by the Speaker of the House. The first such Commission members were Henry L. Stimson, Secretary of War; Walter Fisher, Secretary of Interior; James Wilson, Secretary of Agriculture; John Walter Smith, Senator from Maryland; Jacob H. Gallinger, Senator from New Hampshire; William Hawley, Congressman from Oregon; and Gordon Lee, Congressman from Georgia.

2. NA, RG 95, Office of the Chief, Records of the National Forest Reservation Commission, Work of the National Forest Reservation Commission, 1911-1933, p. 2.

3. NA, RG 95, OC, NFRC, "Lands of Andrew and N.W. Gennett," June 19, 1911.

4. NA, RG 95, LA, Correspondence, Surveys, Georgia. Andrew Gennett to W. L. Hall, May 28, 1912.

5. "The National Forests and Purchase Units of Region Eight," Forest Service unpublished report (Region 8, Atlanta, Ga., January 1, 1955), p. 30, copy in Regional Office.

6. Telephone interview with Walter Rule, Public Information Officer, National Forests of North Carolina, Asheville, N.C., September 19, 1979.

7. NA, RG 95, LA, Correspondence, Examination, North Carolina, William Hall to R. W. Shields, January 19, 1912, Correspondence, Examination, North Carolina.

8. "The National Forests and Purchase Units of Region Eight," p. 3, Region 8 report, January 1, 1955, copy in Regional Office, Atlanta, Ga.

9. NA, RG 95, OC, NFRC, "Lands of Andrew and N. W. Gennett."

10. "Lands of Andrew and N. W. Gennett," p. 41.

11. NA, RG 95, OC, NFRC, Minutes of the National Forest Reservation Commission, February 14, 1912.

12. "The National Forests and Purchase Units of Region Eight," p. 41, Region 8 report, January 1, 1955, copy in Regional Office.

13. NA, RG 95, LA, Correspondence, Examinations, Verne Rhoades, "Report on the Unaka Area in Tennessee and North Carolina," February, 1912, pp. 2-4, 10.

14. NA, RG 95, LA, Correspondence, Examinations, Tennessee, 1913, W. W. Ashe to H. L. Johnson, August 14, 1913.

15. NA, RG 95, LA, Correspondence, Examinations, Tennessee, 1912, Rowland F. Hemingway to the Forester, May 1, 1912.

16. NA, RG 95, LA, Correspondence, Surveys, Georgia, 1911-15, Andrew Gennett to W. L. Hall, June 5, 1912.

17. NA, RG 95, LA, Correspondence, Surveys, 1911-15, Thomas Cox, Survey Report, January, 1914; James Denman to Assistant Forester, July 21, 1914.

18. NA, RG 95, LA, Correspondence, Surveys, 1912-14, E. V. Clark to the Forester, April 7, 1912.

19. NA, RG 95, LA, Correspondence, Surveys, 1911-15, "Report on Establishment and Survey of Macon-Swain County Line Between the Shallow Ford of the Little Tennessee River and A Point on the Nantahala River."

20. NA, RG 95, LA, Correspondence, Surveys, 1911-14, Mt. Mitchell, Diffenbach to the Forester, July 19, 1912.

21. NA, RG 95, LA, Correspondence, Surveys, 1911-14, Mt. Mitchell, Thomas A. Cox to the Assistant Forester, August 17, 1914.

22. The Olmstead Lands, National Forests of North Carolina, Asheville, N.C., "Summary of Reports on Possession Claims on E. B. Olmstead Grants."

23. The Weaver Act of June 14, 1934, was passed solely to adjust the Olmstead claims (37 Stat. 189, 16 U.S.C. 4776). By reason of "long continued occupancy and use thereof," parties were entitled, with the authority of the Secretary of Agriculture and approval of the Attorney General, "to convey by quitclaim deed . . . interest of the U.S. therein." Olmstead Lands file, National Forests of North Carolina.

24. NA, RG 95, LA, Correspondence, Examinations, Supervision, Smoky Mountains, 1911-15, W. W. Ashe, Memorandum for District Seven, February 18, 1915.

25. Jesse R. Lankford, Jr., "A Campaign for a National Park in Western North Carolina," p. 46. (See Bibliography, III.)

26. NA, RG 95, LA, Correspondence, Examinations, D. W. Adams to Forester Hall, September 1911; Rhoades, "Report on the Unaka Area."

27. William E. Shands and Robert G. Healy, *The Lands Nobody Wanted* (Washington: The Conservation Foundation, 1977).

28. NA, RG 95, LA, Correspondence, Examinations, Nantahala, O. D. Ingall to the Forester, May 10, 1912.

29. NA, RG 95, LA, Correspondence, Surveys, Georgia, Thomas A. Cox to Assistant Forester, February 13, 1914.

30. NA, RG 95, LA, Correspondence, Examinations, North Carolina, William Hall to D. W. Adams, September 15, 1911.

31. NA, RG 95, LA, Correspondence, Valuations/Examinations, W. L. Hall to R. C. Hall, July 17, 1911.

32. NA, RG 95, LA, Correspondence, Examinations, R. Clifford Hall to Assistant Forester, May 4, 1913.

33. NA, RG 95, LA, Correspondence, Purchase, Georgia, R. Clifford Hall to Assistant Forester, April 4, 1914.

34. NA, RG 95, Office of the Chief, Records of the National Forest Reservation Commission, Minutes of the National Forest Reservation Commission, November 1, 1911.

35. NA, RG 95, OC, NFRC, "Work of the National Forest Reservation Commission," p. 3.

36. NA, RG 95, LA, Correspondence, Examinations, Supervision, Smoky Mountains, Verne Rhoades to Assistant Forester, August 6, 1913.

37. NA, RG 95, LA, Correspondence, Examinations, North Carolina, D. W. Adams to William Hall, September 2, 1911.

38. NA, RG 95, LA, Correspondence, Examinations, Mt. Mitchell, Robert J. Noyes, Forest Examiner, June 23, 1915.

39. NA, RG 95, LA, Correspondence, Examinations, Georgia, J. W. Hendrix to Forest Service, July 17, 1914.

40. NA, RG 95, LA, Correspondence, Examinations, Mt. Mitchell, Lennie Greenlee to W. W. Ashe, December 9, 1913.

41. NA, RG 95, OC, NFRC, "Work of the National Forest Reservation Commission," pp. 2, 3.

42. Shands and Healy, *The Lands Nobody Wanted.* (See Bibliography, I.)

43. "The National Forests and Purchase Units of Region Eight," p. 44, Region 8 report, January 1, 1955, copy in Regional Office.

44. Data on acquired tracts of the Nantahala and Pisgah National Forests obtained from Basic Information Sheets, National Forests of North Carolina, Asheville. Pisgah was not the first, but the ninth National Forest east of the Great Plains.

45. NA, RG 95, OC, NFRC, "Work of the National Forest Reservation Commission," p. 12.

46. Clarke-McNary Act, 43 Stat. 653; 16 USC 471, 505, 515, 564-570.

47. 36 Stat. 962; 16 USC 516.

48. Bureau of the Census, *Fourteenth Census of the United States, Volume I, Population* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1923); and *Fifteenth Census of the United States, Volume I, Population,* 1933.

49. Bureau of the Census, *Fourteenth Census of the United States, Volume VI, Agriculture* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1922); and *Fifteenth Census of the United States, Volume VI, Agriculture,* 1933.

50. Eller, "Miners, Millhands, and Mountaineers," p. 185. A search through selected county newspapers of the region confirms this finding.

51. R. C. Nicholson, "The Federal Forestry Service," in *Sketches of Rabun County History*, Andrew J. Ritchie, ed., (n.p., n.d., c. 1948), p. 359.

52. Elwood R. Maunder, "Ride the White Horse." (See Bibliography II.) Although Eldredge was a supervisor on the National Forests of Florida, his remarks are applicable to the Southern Appalachian forests as well.

53. NA, RG 95, LA, Correspondence, Surveys/Examinations, Supervision, (Georgia), E. V. Clark to Forester, December 4, 1912; Supervision, (Cherokee), Henry Johnson to Assistant Forester, March 30, 1914.

54. Ashley L. Schiff, *Fire and Water: Scientific Heresy in the Forest Service.* (See Bibliography, I.)

55. R. C. Nicholson, "The Federal Forestry Service," p. 360. (See note 51.)

56. Elizabeth S. Bowman, *Land of High Horizon* (Kingsport, Tenn.: Southern Publishers, Inc., 1938), p. 178.

57. "Cooperative Forest Fire Control, A History of Its Origins and Development Under the Weeks and Clarke-McNary Acts," USDA, Forest Service, M-1462, Rev. 1966, p. 26. Ralph R. Widner, ed., *Forests and Forestry in the American States, A Reference Anthology,* (Washington: National Association of State Foresters, 1968), pp. 203, 298, 309, 326-28. John R. Ross, "'Pork Barrels' and the General Welfare: Problems in Conservation, 1900-1920," p. 240. (See Bibliography, III.)

58. Schiff, *Fire and Water,* p. 17. (See note 54.)

59. NA, RG 95, OC, NFRC, Minutes of the National Forest Reservation Commission, April 8, 1920.

60. Nicholson, "The Federal Forestry Service," p. 360. (See note 55.)

61. USDA, Forest Service, *The Use Book,* 1915 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1915).

62. Interview with Clyne and Walter Woody, Suches, Ga., July 12, 1979.

63. Taped interiew with J. Herbert Stone for Southern Region History Program, November 22, 1978. Made available by Sharon Young, Regional Historian, Region 8, Atlanta, Ga.

64. William W. Ashe, "The Place of the Eastern National Forests in the National Economy," *Geographical Review* 13 (October, 1912): 539.

65. Ignatz James Pikl, Jr., *A History of Georgia Forestry,* p. 17. (See Bibliography, I.)

66. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Fourteenth Census of the United States, Volume IX, Manufactures, 1919* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1923).

67. William L. Hall, "Influences of the National Forests in the Southern Appalachians," *Journal of Forestry* 17 (1919): 404.

68. W. L. Hall, "Influences," p. 407.

69. Elwood R. Maunder, "Ride the White Horse." (See Bibliography, II.) Cary was a Forest Service timber expert of the Schenck type.

70. Maunder, "Ride the White Horse."

71. Andrew Gennett, *Autobiography*, p. 164. Papers of the Gennett Lumber Company, Manuscript Division, Perkins Library, Duke University, Durham, N.C.

72. Douglas C. Brookshire, "Carolina's Lumber Industry," 162. (See Bibliography, II.)

73. Michael Frome, *Battle for the Wilderness* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1974), pp. 174, 175.

74. NA, RG 95, LA, Correspondence, Examinations, Verne Rhoades, "Report on The Unaka Area," p. 9.

75. William L. Hall, "Influences of the National Forests in the Southern Appalachians," *Journal of Forestry* 17 (1919): 404.

76. Sharon Young, Interview with J. Herbert Stone.

77. Hall, "Influences of the National Forests," 404.

Chapter III

The Depression and the New Deal

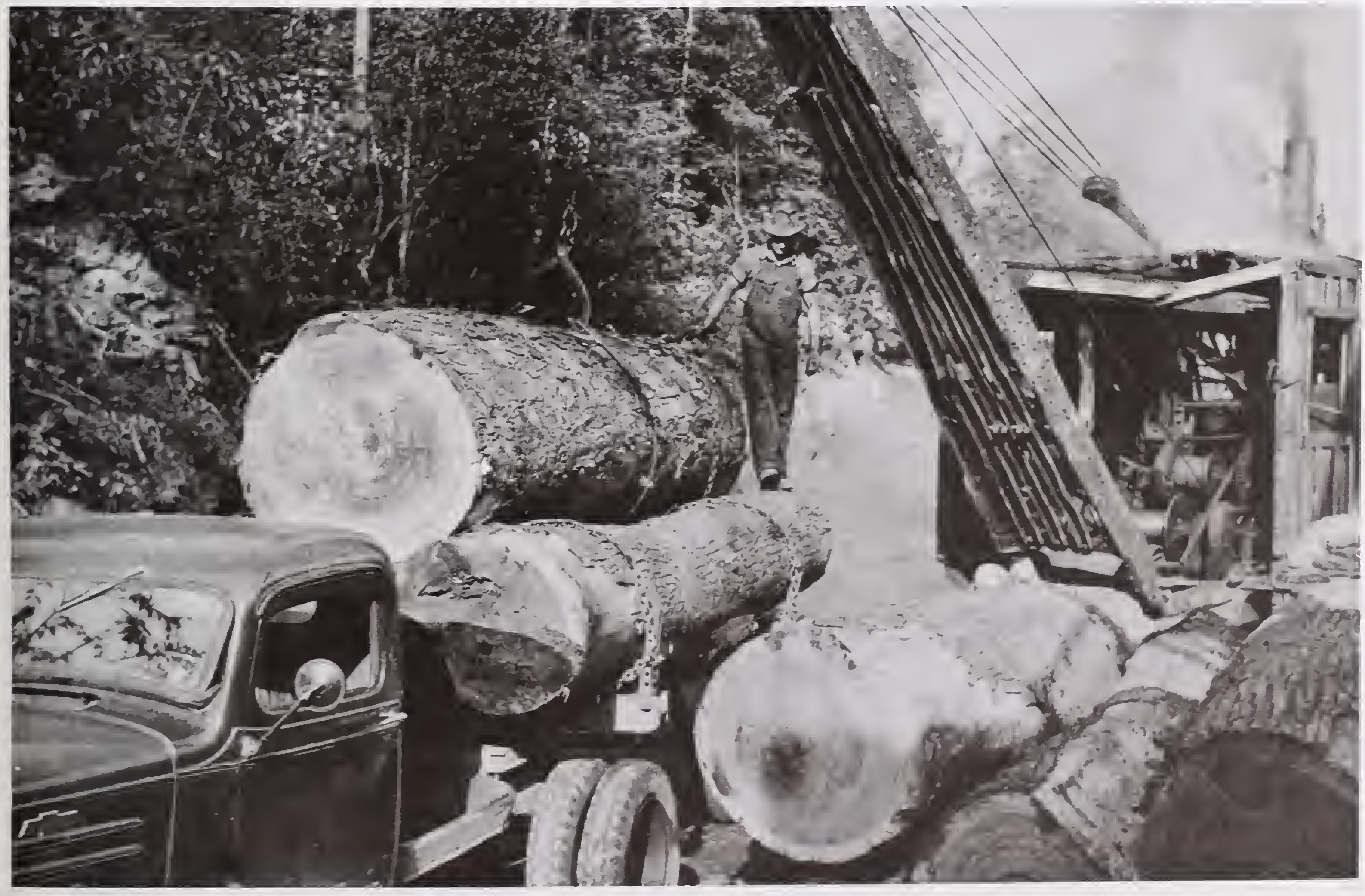
During the years of the Great Depression, there was a greatly increased involvement of Federal agencies in the Southern Appalachian highlands. Before the administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt, virtually the only Federal activities there were a forest resource survey, the purchase and management of lands for National Forests, and the searches by "revenuers" for illegal whiskey stills. The New Deal created the Tennessee Valley Authority, a program for purchase of submarginal farmlands and relocation of the farm operators, and greatly expanded public welfare and employment programs. At the same time, National Forests were enlarged and consolidated, and new National Parks developed. More people than ever before were directly affected by programs and policies of the Federal Government. The extensive social reform plans of the early New Deal years made dramatic changes in the mountains, but curtailment of these programs in 1935 and 1937 left the people of the mountains to slower and less orderly patterns of change. Some farm reforestation aid was offered by the Norris-Doxey Cooperative Farm Forestry Act of May 18, 1937 (which was superseded by the more comprehensive Cooperative Forestry Management Act of August 25, 1950), and by the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act of July 22, 1937.[1]

Agriculture, textiles, and coal are all basic to the prosperity of the mountain people. These industries were in a period of decline and stagnation all during the 1920's. Long before the rest of the Nation experienced the shock of the New York stock market crash in the fall of 1929, many mountain areas, especially the coal fields, like the Nation's farmlands, had already entered the Great Depression. With the crash came further price declines and loss of markets for the products of the southern mountains. Coal production dropped drastically and in 1933 the number of miners employed dropped to its lowest point in 25 years.[2]

The peak of timber production had passed, and large-scale logging had begun to decline even before World War I. However, with the Depression, this decline was accelerated by a rapid drop in prices for lumber and related forest products.[3] The major operator, Andrew Gennett, wrote in 1934:

> At the present time the lumber business is so disrupted that none of us know where we stand, and we are making no engagements of any kind until we find out what is going to happen.[4]

Figure 42.—Loading logs onto a truck from a roadside skidway with a steam-powered rig on rails. Spot was along the Upper Tellico River, Monroe County, Tenn., south of Great Smoky Mountains National Park, on the Cherokee National Forest, in 1937. (National Archives: Record Group 95G-354360)



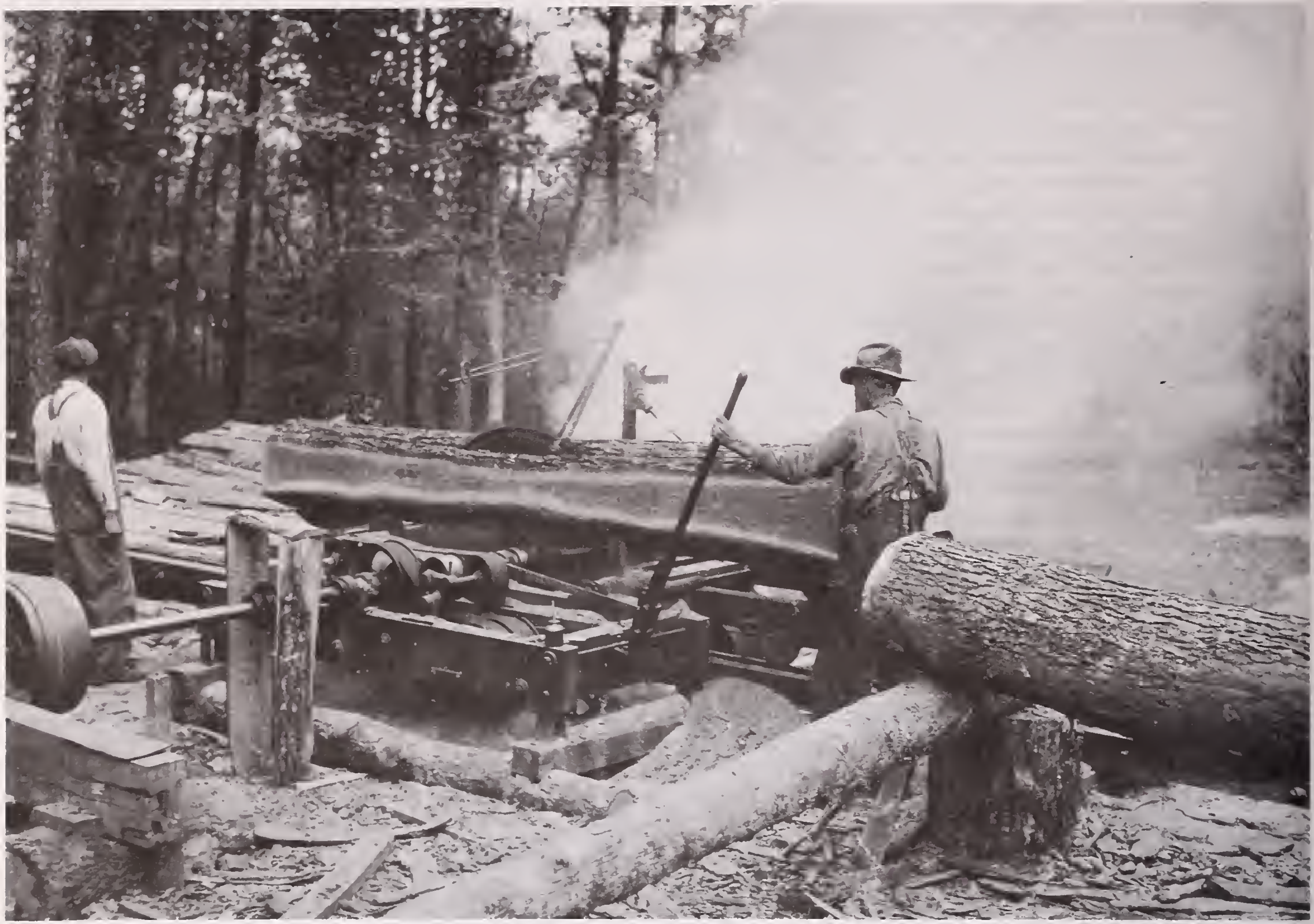


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Figure 43.—Portable sawmill with circular saw powered by oil distillate, cutting white oak log. Laurel Lumber & Stave Company, Daniel Boone (then Cumberland) National Forest, Ky., August 1937. Smoke came from a burning pile of slabs. (NA:95G-365412)

Figure 44.—Erosion-causing cornfields planted unwisely on very steep slopes in Knott County, Ky., August 1930. Neeley's Fork near Bailey Fork, at head of Troublesome Creek, between Redbird Purchase Unit and Kentucky portion of Jefferson National Forest. Note log cabin and zigzag rail fence. (NA:95G-247048)

The market for what lumber remained in the mountains almost disappeared. In Georgia, lumber production reached its lowest point in the 20th century in 1932. Over 1,000 sawmills, most of them small, disappeared between 1929 and 1932.[5] The picture was about the same in other southern States. Production of other forest products, acidwood, pulpwood, railroad ties, fenceposts, mine props, also dropped dramatically.

The value of the land itself declined rapidly as well. Some of this decline was due to the condition of the land. Cutover and not reforested, farmed to exhaustion, flooded by silted-up creeks and rivers, the land in many parts of the mountains was actually deteriorating. But most of the price decline was a result of the deflationary impact of the Depression. Land valued for tax purposes at $5 per acre in 1925-26 was worth $3 per acre or even less by 1934, and the possibility of finding a buyer was not likely even at the lower prices.[6]

While large timber interests complained loudest about their losses in land value, the small landowner was also hard hit. In the mountains where the Pee Dee River rises west of Winston-Salem, N.C., over half of the farm property and a third of the forest land was tax delinquent at the height of the Depression. In some counties tax delinquency rose to 90 percent.[7]

The slack in coal mining had put another burden on the already hard-pressed agricultural lands of the Appalachian highlands. In eastern Kentucky and adjacent Virginia and Tennessee, many mountain people had left the farms to go into the mines. As the coal slump deepened, some returned to worn-out farms and steep, cutover slopes and tried to get a living once again from the soil.[8]

Later, when the Depression began to affect all parts of the Nation, more people joined the return to the land. For years the Southern Appalachian mountains had exported people as well as timber and minerals. Thousands of southern highlanders had found new homes in mill towns and industrial cities and were scattered over much of the east-central United States. Many of these people, finding themselves unemployed and destitute, returned to old family farms, abandoned or perhaps still inhabited by elderly cousins, and sought to resume the life of their forefathers. They rechinked the old log cabin, repaired the roof a bit, planted a cornfield and garden patch, and hoped for the best. Those less fortunate "squatted" in abandoned shacks, old chicken houses and smokehouses—anything with a roof and walls. They had neither seed nor tools and little knowledge of farming or gardening. They survived on relief or they starved.

In the counties where the Daniel Boone (originally Cumberland) National Forest is now located, the situation was especially acute. Assistant Regional Forester John H. Hatton, compiling a report on the "Social Aspects of National Forest Management" in 1934, described the area:

> At the same time the population has increased in the last four or five years very rapidly, which increase depends entirely on local mountain farming . . . The conditions of the valley would not be noticed from the train but one has only to leave the highway and strike up one of the very small creeks and he finds whole sections and districts wherein not a person has sufficient supplies to support themselves above want and many are actually suffering from the need of food, clothing and medical attention. There was a time when the extremely poor had neighbors who could help them, but the neighbors' condition has become such that they can no longer render aid . . . The people are of good character, and have a certain amount of dignity and pride in the midst of direst poverty, unwilling to accept direct relief until they reach the point of actual suffering. They all prefer work rather than charity and especially the form of charity which is humiliating to them. For a good many years numbers of the small land owners and tenants after putting by their crops have sought work in factories of other States and some among settlements to work tobacco crops. They had to have this money to pay taxes and to buy articles for the winter, but the factories have been closed and other employment has practically ceased. On top of all this there has been a gradual influx from the cities and manufacturing centers of about 25% of the people who were unable to get employment and have returned to their relatives and friends in the country.[9]

Evidence that mountaineers who had earlier migrated to industrial areas returned to their former farm homes during the 1930's is abundant, though exact figures depend on the definition of Southern Appalachia used. In most of the mountain counties farm acreage remained quite stable from 1930 to 1940, but the number of farms rose significantly.[10] This fact explains why mountain people were often reluctant to sell even very poor farms during the Depression years.

Because poverty, unemployment, and economic decline existed in the Southern Appalachian highlands to a degree unsurpassed in other regions of the Naton, the election of Franklin D. Roosevelt and the rapid development of "New Deal" programs designed to alleviate the symptoms of the Depression inevitably had a marked impact on the region. Even before FDR's inauguration the leadership of the Forest Service saw that National Forests would be called upon to play an important role in Federal plans for relief and recovery. Forest supervisors were willing and able to put large numbers of men to work. They began to plan as soon as Roosevelt was elected how they wanted to use additional manpower to carry out longrange plans for forest improvement.[11]

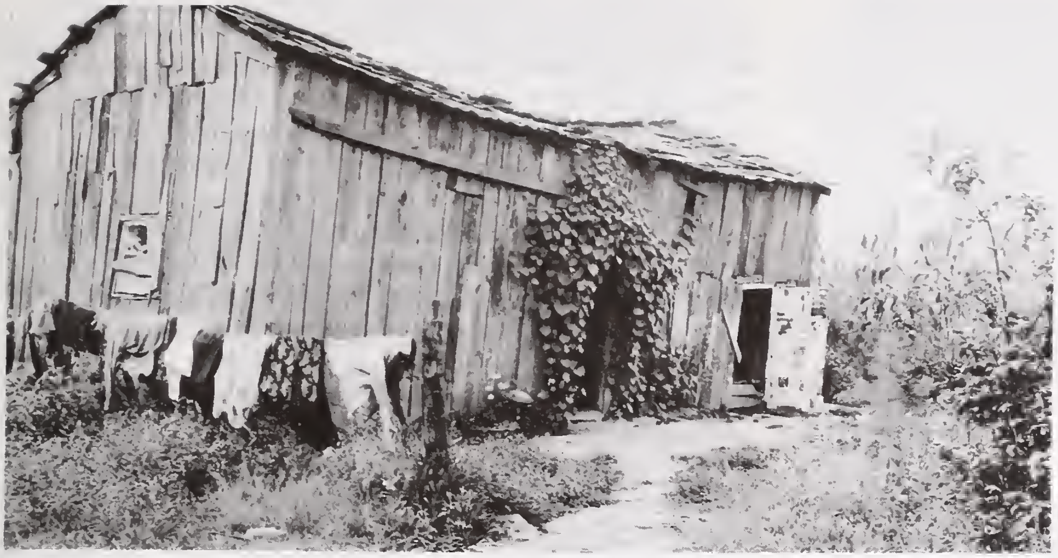
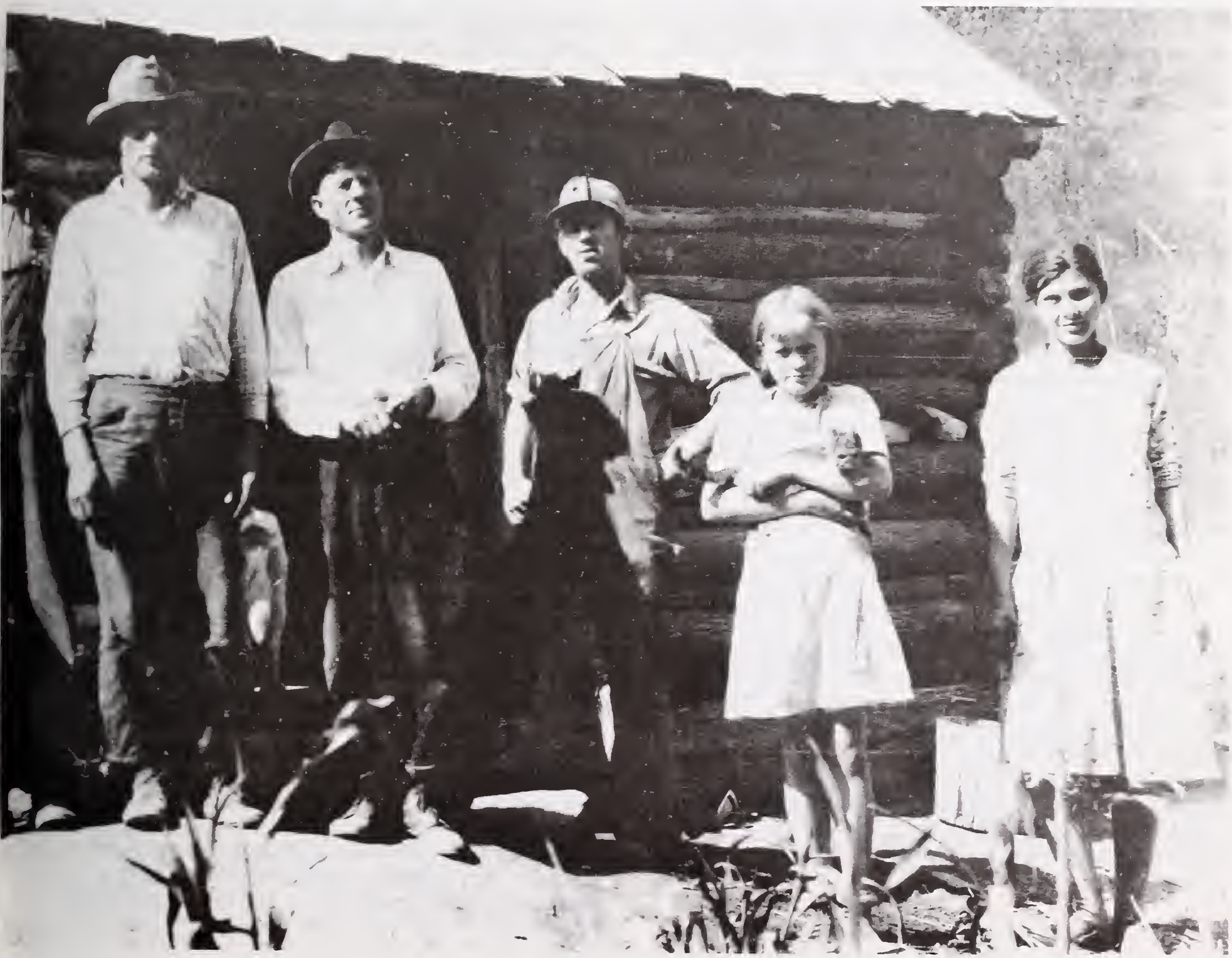


Figure 45.—Ramshackle barn used as dwelling in Estill County, Ky., under special-use permit from Daniel Boone (then Cumberland) National Forest, in late summer 1939. Upper Kentucky River watershed. This county, though forested, has very little National Forest land. (NA:95G-381247)

Figure 46.—A mountain family in front of their new log cabin on Balls Fork of Troublesome Creek, Knott County, Ky., in November 1930. (NA:95G-250896)



The role of the Forest Service as a forest resources manager was greatly enlarged by the New Deal. Roosevelt gave it large sums for land purchases, which aided economic recovery in several ways. The Government was virtually the only buyer of lands; its purchases often helped the selling individuals and companies out of financial difficulties. The new National Forest land also provided thousands of jobs, mainly through the Civilian Conservation Corps, in areas that were hard hit by the Depression.

It was an ideal time to expand the forests, since land prices were low, and opposition to Federal intervention had virtually disappeared. Many who might in other times have opposed the expansion of the National Forests were happy to unload their land onto the Federal Government and salvage what they could from the economic catastrophe.

The largest single beneficiary of the expanded purchases for Natonal Forests in this period was the Stearns Coal and Lumber Co. of Stearns, Ky. After it cut and removed all merchantable timber from its large holding in the vicinity, mostly for its own mine props, and drift-mining most of the coal, its president, Robert L. Stearns, Jr., appeared before the National Forest Reservation Commission in Washington in 1937 to strongly urge expansion of the new Cumberland National Forest Purchase Unit beyond the Cumberland River to the Tennessee State line. Thus the unit would encompass the extensive Stearns coal lands in McCreary County. Stearns offered a 47,000-acre piece just logged, for an attractive price; however he reserved mineral (coal) rights. The Commission endorsed the expansion of the Purchase Unit and accepted his offer of the lands. The deed was dated December 18, 1937. (The Cumberland unit had been established by the Forest Service in 1930, and the first land purchases had begun in 1933.) It seemed a good deal to both parties. The Forest Service secured a large addition at a good price—the country was still in a Depression, and the company had removed all resources that it profitably could yet still held the rights for the residual coal, subject to Forest Service regulations on land reclamation for surface disturbances.[12]

The Forest Service, because of its already established role in the Highlands, was to play a very important part in the New Deal, but other New Deal agencies and programs came into the area and left their mark on the land and people as well.

The Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA) arrived in force in some mountain districts in 1934. The mountain people were most affected by the Land Policy Section, which sought to acquire "submarginal" farm lands and resettle the former owners or tenants on more productive farms. Much of the land being farmed in the mountains was clearly unable to produce an adequate living for its users, and thus could be labeled "submarginal." The Land Program was shifted to the Resettlement Administration, then the Farm Security Administration and later the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, where limited funding reduced it to minor importance.

The Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) with its sweeping powers to reconstruct the watershed of the Tennessee River also had considerable impact on its area. The mountains at the river's source shared to some extent in TVA programs. Land was purchased, creeks dammed, lakes formed, and power plants built. Mountain communities were disrupted and rebuilt.

Two other New Deal programs—the Civilian Conservation Corps, and the concurrent development of Great Smoky Mountains National Park and the Blue Ridge Parkway—were so important that they are covered in separate chapters.

Submarginal Farm Relocation Projects: Stinking Creek

The early New Deal programs for economic recovery in agriculture were contained in the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1933. The act created the Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA), charged with finding ways to raise the prices of staple agricultural commodities.

One method of raising prices was to curtail production by removing land from agricultural use. While some of this would be only temporary, the AAA provided an opportunity to remove poorer land permanently from agricultural use by purchasing it for other uses, such as park lands, forests, or wildlife preserves.

Land deemed unsuitable for productive farming was classified "submarginal." This classification was based on (1) an estimate of the yield per acre that could be obtained from the most appropriate crop, and (2) whether capable farmers could expect to make an adequate living from the land. Since neither of these criteria was clearly defined, and both were subject to change, the definition was flexible.[13]

With the energy characteristic of the early days of the New Deal, the AAA's Land Policy Division quickly began efforts to move people off eroded and unproductive mountain lands. The mountains, with their serious social and economic problems, seemed an ideal place to start purchasing land so that it would be removed permanently from agricultural use.

Because submarginal land purchase was shifted to various agencies during its life span, records are less complete than those of more permanent Federal activities. Efforts to trace the development of specific submarginal land purchase programs in the mountains are often unrewarding. However, in one location selected, the development of the program can be traced. In the spring of 1934 a University of Kentucky agriculture professor recommended four counties where most land being farmed was submarginal and where 80 to 90 percent of the families were on relief. He pointed out that the people of Knox, Clay, Leslie and Bell Counties were accustomed to cash income from employment off the farm which was no longer available.[14] There was no way that they could make a decent living from their lands alone, even in more prosperous times.

Since local leaders in Knox County gave evidence of some support for Federal purchase of submarginal land in their county, plans for land acquisition in the county began in the spring of 1934. The Stinking Creek watershed in Knox County was designated as part of a proposed Kentucky Ridge Forest Project which included purchase areas in Bell and Harlan Counties as well. Since there were no plans to establish State forests in Kentucky at that time, it was hoped that the land could be turned over to the Forest Service as part of the proposed Cumberland National Forest.[15] The only drawback to this plan, from the viewpoint of local political leaders, was the fear of loss of county tax revenue if the land remained in Federal ownership.

The people of Stinking Creek accordingly began to receive visits from land acquisition agents in August 1934. Some of these agents had become familiar with the mountain country and its people while engaged in their previous jobs—locating and destroying moonshine whiskey stills during Prohibition. The identification of Federal agents as destroyers of one of the most profitable businesses in the mountains may have helped to intensify the suspicion with which the land purchase program was greeted. Some land purchase agents had to spend much time explaining the purpose of their new jobs.

The people were understandably cautious about the new program, wondering whether they would get a fair price for their land, and if they would be able to get a new farm near those of their friends and neighbors. The mountain man would agree that things were pretty bad where he was, but often concluded, "I am afeard I would not be satisfied to make a change."[16]

This caution, as one field supervisor pointed out, was not based on ignorance. They read their newspapers carefully and the men discussed Federal programs with considerable awareness. They knew that New Deal agencies had a lot of money to spend. As with most of the Southern Appalachian mountaineers, the Stinking Creek people were generally shrewd and careful traders, used to driving a hard bargain to get the most for what little they had to sell. In most cases their land was their most valuable possession. In the past it had been the basis of their economic security. They were in no hurry to sell; each waited to see what his neighbors would do.[17].

The people were emotionally attached to their homes and anxious to remain close to their relatives and neighbors, but emotional attachment does not seem to have been the most important factor in their reluctance to sign options to purchase agreements. A 1934 survey of the 631 families in Knox County whose lands were included in the Kentucky Ridge Forest Project found that 157 families were unwilling to resettle, 93 were willing to move within the county and 381 were willing to move anywhere.[18]

However, they realized that resettlement plans were vague and that the money they would get for a poor mountain farm would not buy a better farm unless they were to receive Government help in obtaining the new land. Also, those who held the best land along the creek, and whose actions were most closely watched by their neighbors, soon realized that if the Government were to purchase most of the land, then the tracts remaining in private ownership would increase in value. No one wanted to sell first and see his neighbors get better prices for their land later.

The situation was further complicated by the Kentucky custom of separating ownership of the surface of the land from ownership of the minerals beneath the soil. Land acquisition agents were not sure whether they could buy land without acquiring the mineral rights, usually to coal, and the additional right to use a portion of the land and the timber on it for mining. Many mountain people had sold the mineral rights to their land years before and retained only rights to the surface. Usually even the surface rights were limited by the right of the subsurface owner to extract the minerals by any necessary means. In February 1935 it was finally decided that the Federal Government could take options for surface rights while allowing others to own the coal and timber needed to remove the coal.[19]

The people of Knox County, moving with caution, missed their chance to sell their land to the Federal Government. Other mountain landowners in neighboring Bell County had been quicker to sign options to purchase agreements, and when funds for submarginal land purchase were cut, the available money went to those who had previously agreed to sell.

The land actually acquired was not contiguous to the Cumberland National Forest, as it was finally established, but the Federal Government retained the 14,000 acres of Bell County land as a demonstration area or "Land Utilization Project." The new Resettlement Administration, which acquired management of the AAA submarginal land program early in 1935, determined that the land could best be used for growing timber. The Forest Service was responsible for managing the land as a demonstration of good timber land management for the area. This Bell County forest land was later transferred to the State of Kentucky. It is now known as Kentucky Ridge State Forest. The Forest Service chose to concentrate its purchase efforts farther west in the Cumberland region.

Most of the originally proposed Kentucky Ridge forest area was never purchased.[20] So little land had actually been optioned that the purchase of it was given a very low priority when land acquisition funds were reduced. It was considered more important to complete projects where larger consolidated areas could be acquired.

Several other land utilization projects involving watershed improvement and retirement of submarginal land were proposed but never undertaken in eastern Kentucky.[21] The evidence is incomplete, but it is possible that political pressures resulted in the spending of limited funds in other areas of the State, where a few of the proposed projects were completed.

One long-term result of these abandoned land purchase plans, combined with the actual land purchases for the Cumberland National Forest, has been the persistent folk belief that during the New Deal the Federal Government had a secret plan to buy all the mountain land in eastern Kentucky.

The story surfaced in the summer of 1979 during a study of a proposed wilderness area in the Daniel Boone National Forest (now the name of the Cumberland). Oldtimers in the area still fear that the Forest Service is a partner in a "creeping federal land grab."[22]

The fate of the families who lived in the Bell County area actually purchased for the Kentucky Ridge Forest indicates that the mountain people on Stinking Creek may have been wise when they decided to hold onto their land. In September 1936, a resettlement report showed 115 families on the land purchased by the Federal Government. All but one of the families were tenants. Only 30 families qualified for rural resettlement. The report noted that the project area contained no farm land and that it was difficult to find good farm land in the area at a price the Government would pay. The people were right when they wondered where they would be able to find farms to replace those they were asked to sell.

Of the remaining families at Kentucky Ridge, 5 were judged mentally deficient, 15 physically unable to farm, and 25 were held to be "morally unfit" to receive help from the rural rehabilitation staff. The report concluded that:

> the remaining heads of families (40) competent to assume obligations, are a stranded industrial people, with no experience in the management of agricultural units . . . to be rehabilitated in industrial locations.[23]

The classification of mountain families as "stranded industrial people" illustrates the problem the Resettlement Administration had in dealing with them. Agriculture specialists did not see the mountain people as farmers. A corn patch and a garden scratched out of a mountain slope were not, in their eyes, a "real farm." Therefore, as rural rehabilitation, resettlement, and subsistence homestead schemes were shuffled from one agency to another during the middle period of the New Deal, it was easy to forget about the mountain people. By the end of 1936, agricultural resettlement projects in the Southern Appalachians were in limbo. Formal plans were largely abandoned. The Park Service and the Forest Service were left with the responsibility for the people who had been living on the lands they now owned.[24] The Park Service moved everyone off its lands. The Forest Service allowed people to remain as tenants.

In the Kentucky Ridge purchase area, in 1938 the local project manager was required to move the remaining people off the Land Utilization Project lands. Finally, in April 1939, he was able to report that 116 families had moved themselves without any Government aid. One family had been moved "through the efforts and personal expense of the project manager." He considered all these families to be "in the direst need of assistance," but saw little hope of any Government help for them.[25] Two additional families had moved onto the Government-owned land between 1936 and 1939.

The final result of submarginal land purchase and relocation programs in eastern Kentucky was the purchase of a few mountain farms and the eviction of the former owners and tenants. There was only one resettlement project in the area, called Sublimity, covered later in this section, and few of those whose lands were purchased by the Federal Government actually moved there.

In North Carolina the story was different because of the long established Pisgah and Nantahala Forests in that State's mountains. Both forests were expanded and consolidated during the 1930's. One important justification of these forest developments was the contribution made by the National Forests toward stabilizing the local economy. The Forest Service would provide part-time work for local farm and small community dwellers and would also make possible the continuation of employment in wood-using industries by regrowing forest on the cutover land.[26]

The AAA Land Policy Section in North Carolina tried to work closely with the Regional Forester to plan its land purchase programs. In 1934, under pressure to move quickly in the purchase of submarginal farm lands, land policy agents obtained information on the number of farms and acres of farm land within the forests and related purchase units. The Regional Forester stated that:

> Under the Forest Service purchase policy no valuation is placed upon improvements such as houses, barns, and fences, since they are of no value in the future management of the National Forests. For this reason, ordinarily small tracts which contained cultivated lands and improvements could not be purchased even though the cultivated lands were submarginal because the Forest Service could not offer a high enough price. Furthermore, under the policy which has been in effect, it would probably have been unwise to purchase a large part of the farms listed because there were no provisions made to take care of the people living upon them and in many cases these men would not secure enough for their lands to allow them to purchase good farms elsewhere.[27]

He included a table showing 3,774 farms which could be added to the Pisgah and Nantahala National Forests and 2,255 which could be made part of the Cherokee National Forest in Tennessee. The Regional Forester offered the assistance of the Forest Service in locating farms and negotiating for their purchase, since the Forest Service was eager to acquire small farms within existing forests and purchase units.

Since the AAA Land Policy Division was not to keep the land it purchased, but had to find a State or Federal agency to administer and develop it, buying land for the National Forests simplified the job, both in locating land to be purchased and in disposing of the land after acquisition.

In spite of the obvious dovetailing of interests between the Forest Service and AAA Land Policy, negotiation of a working agreement between them took over a year. Decisions had to be reached about who would survey and value the farms and how to determine which portions would be paid for by the Forest Service and which by the AAA. The development of the Blue Ridge Parkway also affected the land situation in the North Carolina mountains. An additional complication was provided by the desire of the Cherokee Indians to benefit from the Parkway and Great Smoky Mountains National Park. Since the Cherokee Indian Reservation is located between the Nantahala forest and Great Smoky Mountains National Park, the land interests of the Indians were affected by Federal purchases.

Not until May 1935 was a Memorandum of Understanding signed between the Forest Service and the AAA Land Policy Section, by then under the new Resettlement Administration. The memorandum was too late to produce any results. In July 1935, the Land Policy Section Director for the region informed the Regional Forester that funds for land purchase had been greatly curtailed and the priorities of his organization had been changed. The Land Policy Section would therefore have to drop out of the land purchase plan just agreed upon. "We are reluctant," he wrote, "to break faith with the people who have optioned their land, but there appears to be little we can do about it."[28] Many of the farms were later acquired by the Forest Service through its regular land acquisition program.

In April 1935 the Resettlement Administration headed by "braintruster" Rexford Tugwell had been given control of the rural rehabilitation and land programs. Funding remained low. In all, only 4,441 families, nationwide, were actually resettled. Early in 1937 its successor with much of the same staff, the Farm Security Administration, took over. Again funding for the agency was low. The only project related to the Southern Appalachians was Sublimity, in Kentucky, discussed later.[29]

Later in 1937 the work was transferred to the Land Utilization Division, Bureau of Agricultural Economics. It developed several land plans for the North Carolina mountain areas during the period 1937 to 1939. Since relocation programs were not being funded adequately by the Federal Government, the plans were developed on a different premise than the submarginal land program first set up by the AAA. After 1935 it was assumed that little or no money would be available for resettlement.

An important element of the plans was the part-time employment provided by the National Forests. A great effort was made to work out plans which would make it possible for the greatest number of mountain people to remain on their lands. This desire conflicted with sound economics and good farm management practices, but the land-use planners justified their approach by concluding that the people were there, most of them wanted to stay, and there was a real need to improve their economic lot where they were. Studies showed that in North Carolina, as in Kentucky, mountain people enjoyed a comfortable standard of living when they were able to combine subsistence farming with part-time employment off the farm.[30]

Most of the studies remained in administrative file drawers. Funds were not available to carry out Federal development plans. The financial, political, and social problems they addressed were too complex for quick solution. The submarginal land and the relocation programs were curtailed before they were able to have much positive impact, but a few of their goals were achieved by the Forest Service as a byproduct of expanding the Southern Appalachian National Forests.

The Tennessee Valley Authority

The most famous and in many ways the most important of the New Deal development programs was the Tennessee Valley Authority. While the impact of TVA on eastern Tennessee as a whole was very great, most mountain people were on the fringes of the development during the 1930's. TVA made its presence felt most strongly in the mountain valleys that were flooded by its dams, including many small farms. The Tennessee River and its tributaries rise in the Appalachian Highlands, so mountain people in Tennessee, Kentucky, North Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama encountered TVA as a land acquisition agency.

Unlike the Forest Service, TVA could not wait until people were ready to sell, since dams could not be completed until all of the land they would flood was acquired. To speed up the process of land acquisition, TVA developed its own procedure. As soon as the engineering staff had determined what land would be needed, the Land Acquisition Division sent out field appraisers to inspect the property. The recommendations of the field appraiser were reviewed by a committee of three, who decided upon a fair price. A TVA employee then submitted the price to the landowner. If the proposal was not acceptable to the landowner, condemnation procedures would be started immediately. This was called the "no-trading policy," since TVA would not negotiate over price with the landowner.[31] The method was efficient, and in most cases fair, but it gave the mountain people an impression of arbitrariness. They were allowed no scope for their customary bargaining.

More problems arose when the farmer attempted to find a new farm home. The owner of a small farm with a cabin and a few rough outbuildings would get little for it. If he wished to remain nearby, he would be competing with others who had also lost their homes the same way. For example, about 3,000 families were moved out of the Norris Reservoir area. Vacant farms were often almost nonexistent even before the TVA purchases. In many cases the displaced mountaineer soon used up the money he had received for his land in higher daily living expenses, and his family was without both land and money.[32]

TVA land acquisitions also markedly decreased the limited amount of good farm land available in the mountains. As one wife put it, "Now the dam water will cover all the bottoms and leave just the hog ridges for farming. That dam will just about ruin this here country."[33]

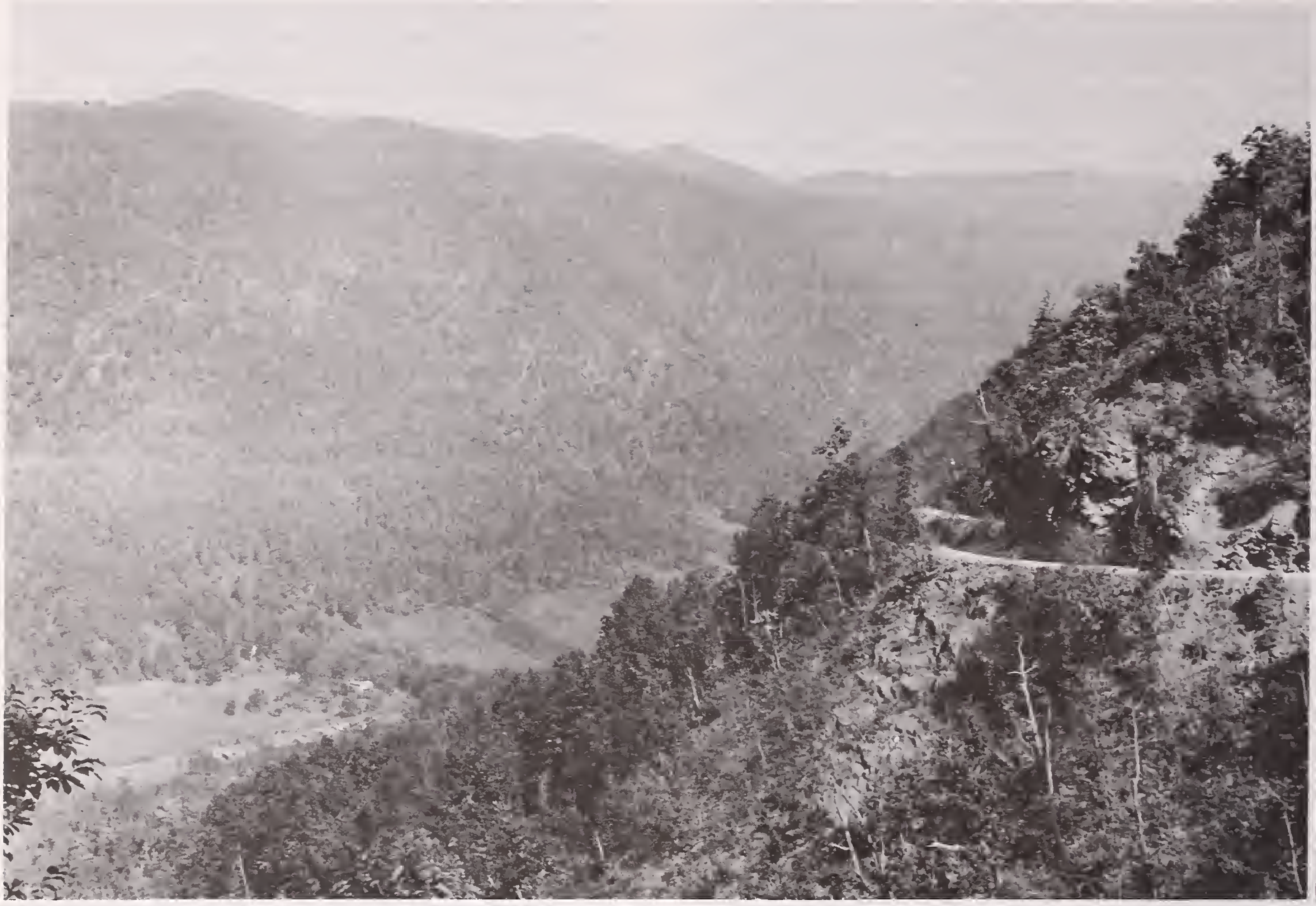


Figure 47.—Nantahala River Gorge above junction with Little Tennessee River and Fontana Lake, the Tennessee River Authority power and flood control reservoir built during World War II which borders Great Smoky Mountains National Park. Note Winding Stair Road at right, and road, railroad, and town in valley. Nantahala National Forest, Swain County, N.C., 1935. (NA:95G-310077)

One major objective of TVA land acquisition was "to leave the people . . . at least as well off as they were before TVA entered the picture."[34] This modest objective was met in some cases, but efforts to assist in the relocation of individuals and communities displaced by TVA activities were not always successful. Pressure to get the dams built limited the amount of time that could be spent in planning relocation projects, and funds for relocation assistance were limited.

Some TVA programs had positive effects on mountain people. TVA demonstration farms and reforestation projects helped to improve the use of the remaining land. Electricity generated at TVA power plants reached into some of the mountain communities, making possible a more modern way of life, including labor-saving equipment for both housewife and farmer.[35] TVA encouraged and promoted many programs for the economic improvement of all parts of the Tennessee River watershed. However, the affected communities identified TVA most clearly with dam construction and the trauma of land acquisition.

In the long run many mountain people have reaped their share of the economic development brought about by TVA. Economic developments during the war years and continuing expansion of the potential of the Valley area first recognized by TVA have contributed further economic benefits to the region. However, these benefits have rarely affected mountain communities directly, since people had to move to urban industrial centers to participate in most economic opportunities. The social and political changes that New Deal planners hoped TVA would bring failed to happen on a significant scale. TVA remained chiefly a producer of cheap fertilizer and electric power.

The TVA lakes also contributed to the slow conversion of the mountains from a place to live to a vacation or recreation area. Today children and grandchildren of mountain people who live and work in Chattanooga or Knoxville are affluent enough to own a piece of land for a second home. They spend their weekends and vacations in the mountain area where their families may once have lived.[36]

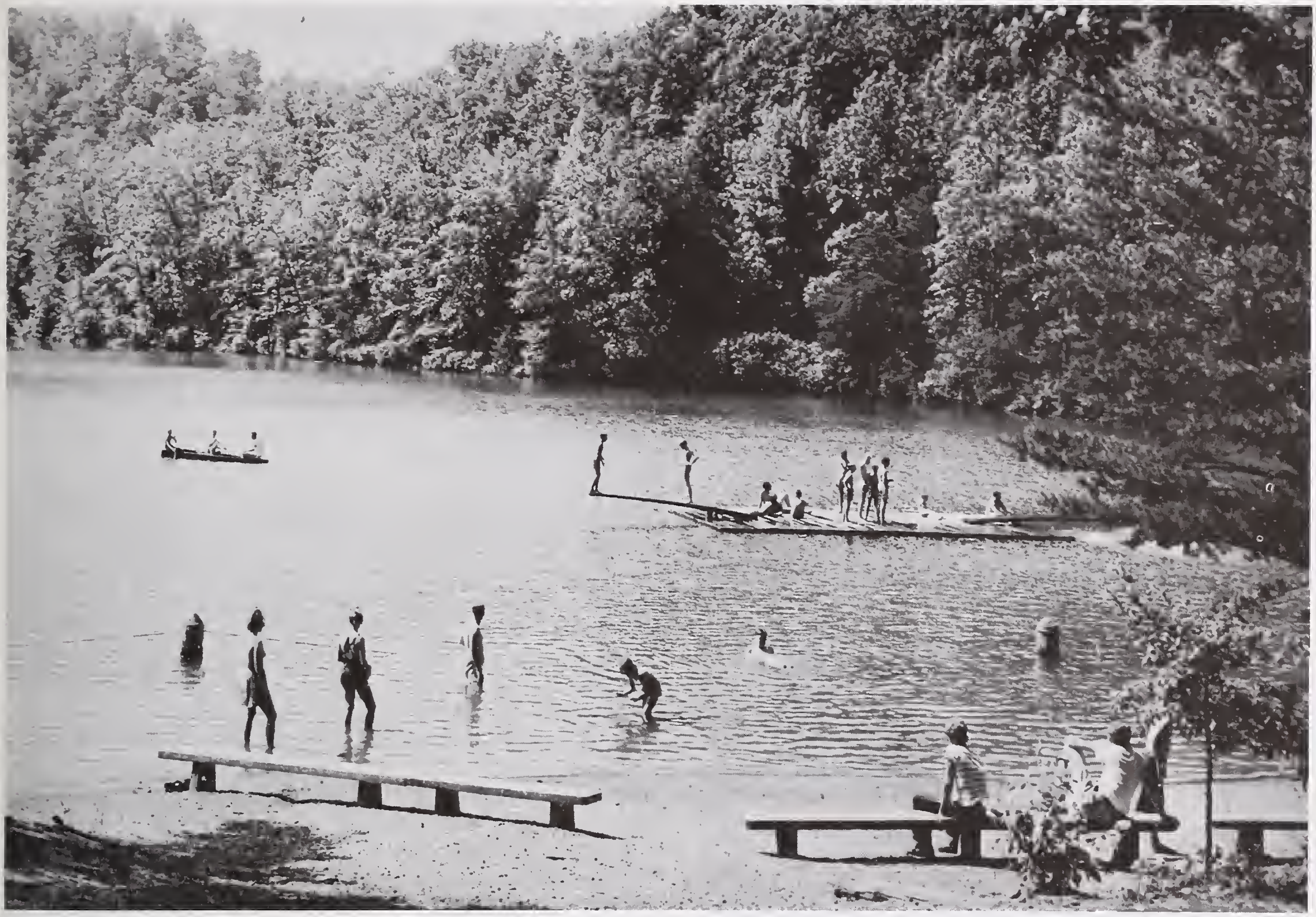


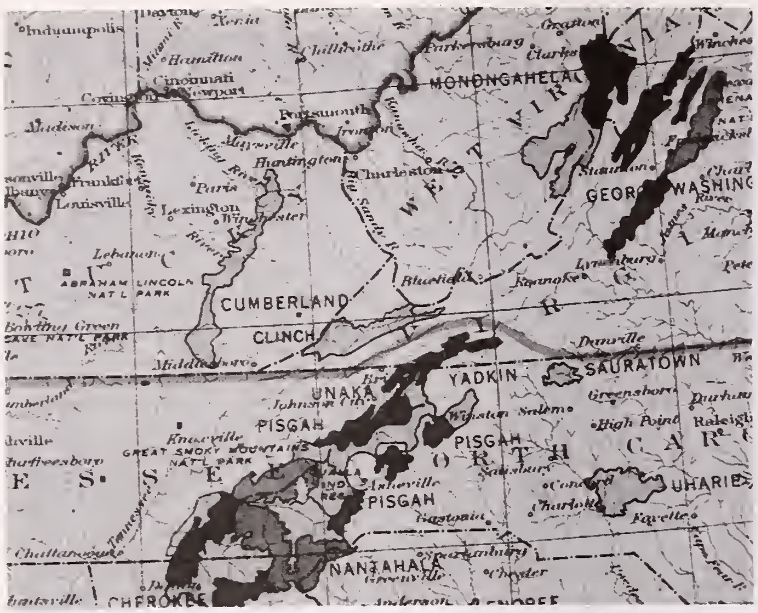
Figure 48.—Swimming and boating at Lake Winfield Scott, Tennessee Valley Authority power and flood control reservoir in the Blue Ridge Mountains of North Georgia between Dahlonega and Blairsville. Located on the Chattahoochee National Forest, it has tent and trailer camping and picnicking facilities, and private summer cottages under special-use permit leases. (Forest Service photo F-458534)

New Deal Expands National Forests

In June 1933 President Roosevelt signed an Executive Order providing $20 million to purchase more land for National Forests in the East. This was the beginning of extensive forest expansion during the New Deal. While much of this money was used to develop new National Forests in regions that had, at that time, few significant publicly owned forest areas, the older National Forests of the Appalachian region were consolidated and enlarged as well.[37] Expansion of these forests provided employment for a small army of surveyors, timber experts, land purchase agents, and their attendant assistants, clerks, and secretaries. They rented or purchased locally everything from office space to mules, and were therefore welcome in the small towns where they made their headquarters.

Although the purchase process was time-consuming, the Federal Government paid for the land it optioned. Since the National Forest Reservation Commission (NFRC) had to approve land purchases for National Forests, there was an unavoidable delay of 6 to 8 months, and sometimes it was a year or more, before legal issues related to a land purchase could be settled and payment actually made. These problems remained as serious as they had been when the initial purchases were made 20 years earlier. For this reason, it was until 1935 and 1936 that the economic impact of payments for forest purchases was actually felt. Hundreds of small landowners received their payments, thus bringing some cash into the local economies. Timber, pulpwood, mining, and land investment companies also benefited from Federal purchase of lands for which there was otherwise no market.

New National Forest land meant increased employment for local mountain people, chiefly through the Civilian Conservation Corps. Emergency Conservation Work, the parent agency of the CCC, provided $10 million from its funds for forest purchases in the East in 1934. Robert Fechner, director of the program, had concluded that money spent for increased eastern forest purchases would spare CCC the



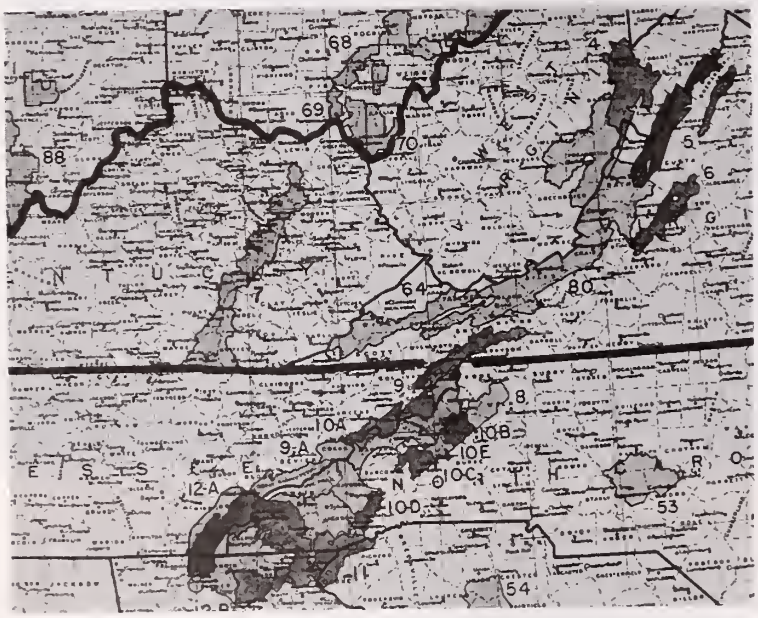


Figure 49.—The National Forests, and Purchase Units (diagonally shaded areas), of the Southern Appalachian Mountains in 1934. Large areas are shown contemplated for addition to the National Forests, which would more than double their acreage. There is a new Purchase Unit in Kentucky, the Cumberland, which became the National Forest of that name in February 1937, and a new one in southwestern Virginia, the Clinch, which later became a Ranger District on the Jefferson National Forest. The new Sauratown Purchase Unit in North Carolina was cancelled within a year. The Shenandoah National Forest was renamed George Washington in 1932 when the National Park was formed in the same vicinity. The Natural Bridge National Forest was transferred to the George Washington in 1933. The Enoree Purchase Unit in South Carolina, plus the Long Cane (not shown) later became the Sumter National Forest. (Forest Service map and photo)

Figure 50.—The National Forests and Purchase Units of the Southern Appalachians in 1935, showing the new Purchase Units in Ohio and Indiana for the first time. (U.S. Geological Survey map; Forest Service photo)

problems and costs of transporting men from the East to the sparsely populated Western States where most National Forest land was located. One major purpose of this purchase fund, then, was to create employment.[38]

The total allotment for land purchase in 1935 was $15 million, but available funds dropped sharply in 1936. An average of $3 million per year was available nationwide from 1936 to 1941. The demands of wartime then brought about another drastic drop in forest purchase funds.

Since CCC labor was available to develop picnic areas and camp grounds, the Forest Service gave increased consideration to the acquisition of lands which would expand the recreation potential of the eastern forests. Harold Ickes, Secretary of the Interior and a member of the NFRC, believed, like other Interior officials before him, that all Federal recreation areas should be managed and controlled by the National Park Service. The role of the Forest Service, he said, should be confined to growing trees. In spite of his determined opposition, many land purchases were made which added to the scenic beauty of the National Forests and improved their facilities for hiking, camping, hunting and fishing.

In most cases the recreation benefits were played down and timber and watershed management functions of the land to be purchased were emphasized, largely to avoid Ickes' opposition. For example, the highest-priced piece of land in the Nantahala was purchased from the Gennett Lumber Co. in 1936 and 1937. This tract, which became the Joyce Kilmer Memorial Forest, contained a magnificent stand of virgin timber. In justifying the high purchase price, the Forest Service carefully calculated the value of the timber, though there was no intention ever to cut this unique stand.[39] The value of the tract for scientific study was also pointed out.

Most of the lands acquired were cutover or heavily culled, and purchase prices of badly damaged land were sometimes less than $2 per acre. These purchases fit more closely with the older Forest Service practices of getting the most land for the money and of restoring land best suited to timber production to its natural use. The purchase of damaged lands also provided work for the CCC and would contribute in the long run to watershed management, another original National Forest purpose.

Benefits to Counties Vary Greatly

While owners of land were often glad to see the Forest Service in the market for major purchases, two issues were raised which led some to view major expansion of the National Forests with alarm. One group was led by Austin Cary, a pioneer in the development of sound forestry practices for southern forests, especially the coastal pinelands used for turpentine production. Cary had been employed by the Forest Service for many years, but had never accepted the idea of large-scale Federal ownership of land. He wanted only small experimental tracts in Government ownership and believed, like Carl Schenck before him, that private forest owners could be convinced to manage their lands responsibly.[40]

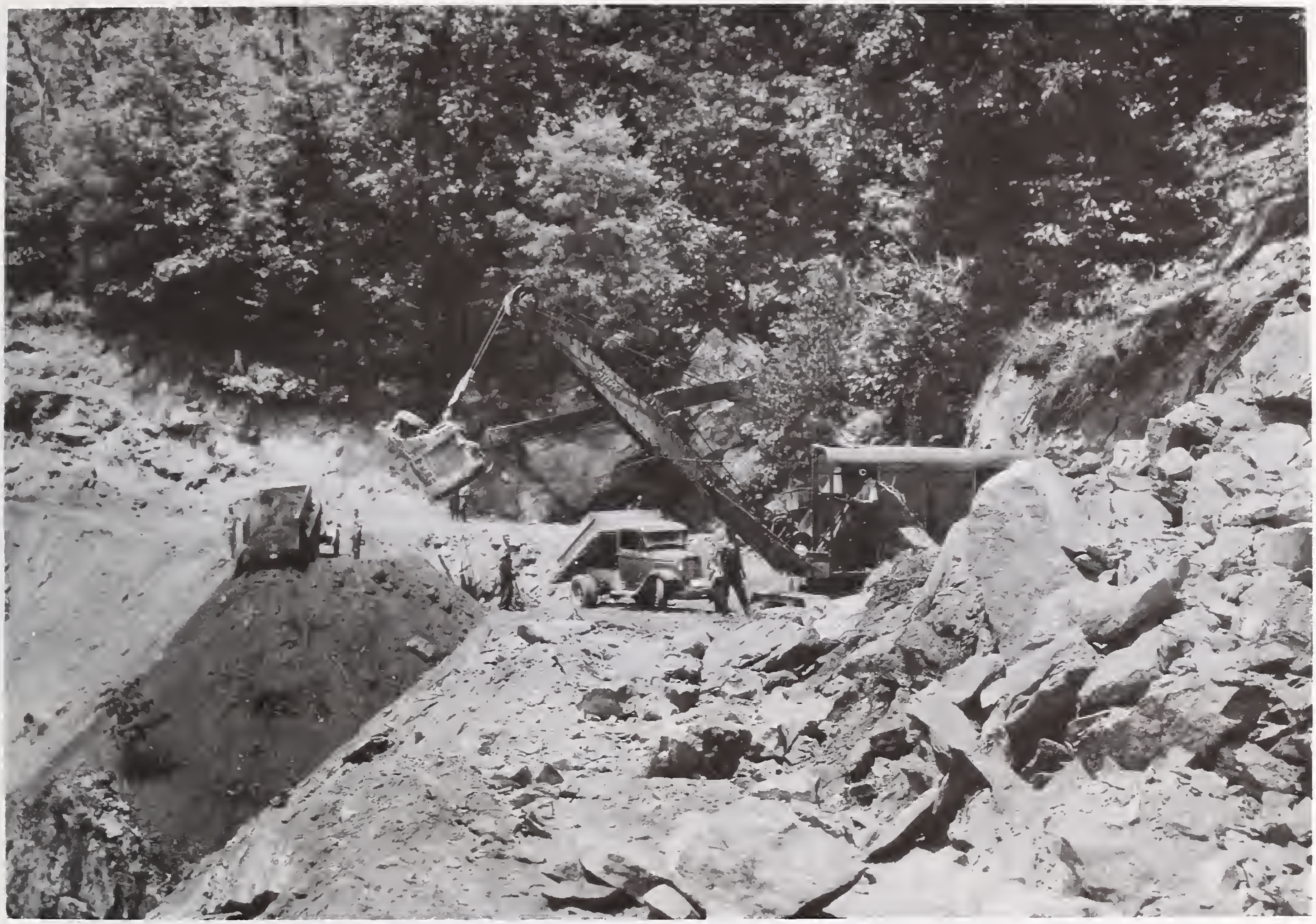


Figure 51.—Construction work on State Route 106 on Scaly Mountain between Highlands, N.C., and Dillard, Ga., in summer 1937. Job was done under the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (ERA), which became the Works Progress Administration (WPA) in 1938. (NA:95G-352573)

Cary served as a focal point for those who feared a Government takeover of the forests. A delegation from the Society of American Foresters, which addressed NFRC at its January 22, 1936, meeting, recommended that the Forest Service be permitted to purchase lands only if they were not likely to be properly developed by private owners. The key to much of their argument was a desire for special credits to permit forest owners to survive their present economic problems without having to sell their land. A Forest Service representative pointed out in response that the purchase program planned by the Forest Service would leave 90 percent of the forest lands in the Eastern United States in private ownership. Federal domination of timber growing did not appear to be a serious threat.[41]

Another issue raised at this meeting was far more important in its implication for the people of the Southern Appalachians. This was the problem of removal of land from the tax base of already hard-pressed counties. The Forest Service was well aware of the problem, especially in the areas of the mountains where it was acquiring new land. Forest Service payments to local governments in the past had been a percentage of revenue from the sale of timber. Much of the land now being acquired would take several generations to regrow, so the counties could expect no funds in the immediate future.

In response to the criticism that it was bankrupting the southern mountain counties, the Forest Service prepared a group of careful studies of the finances of representative counties. One of the counties studied was Macon County, N.C., a rural, mountainous area included in the Nantahala National Forest. In 1936, when the study was made, 43 percent of the area of the county was in Federal ownership and the rest, except an area of about 1,000 acres in the towns of Franklin and Highlands, was included in the area of proposed additions to that forest. It would require many years to restock the forest in Macon County, since its American chestnuts had suffered fatal damage from the Chinese blight and other species would have to be developed to replace them. The principal forest-related occupation in the county in 1936 was the salvage of dead chestnut stumpage.

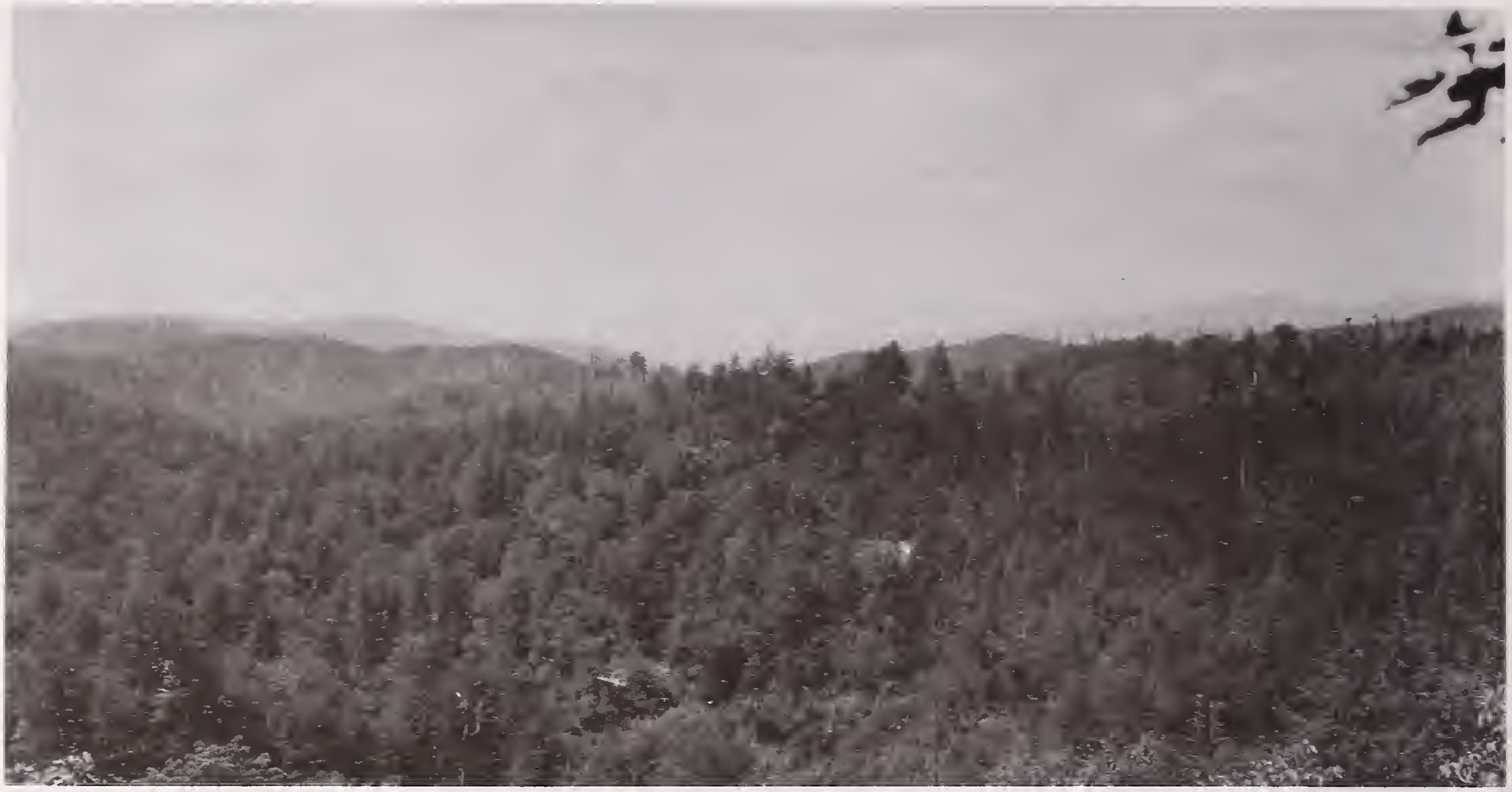


Figure 52.—A natural area seen from Rattlesnake Rock, Cherokee National Forest, Tenn., in 1937. White pine and other conifers are mixed with northern hardwoods. (NA:95G-352605)

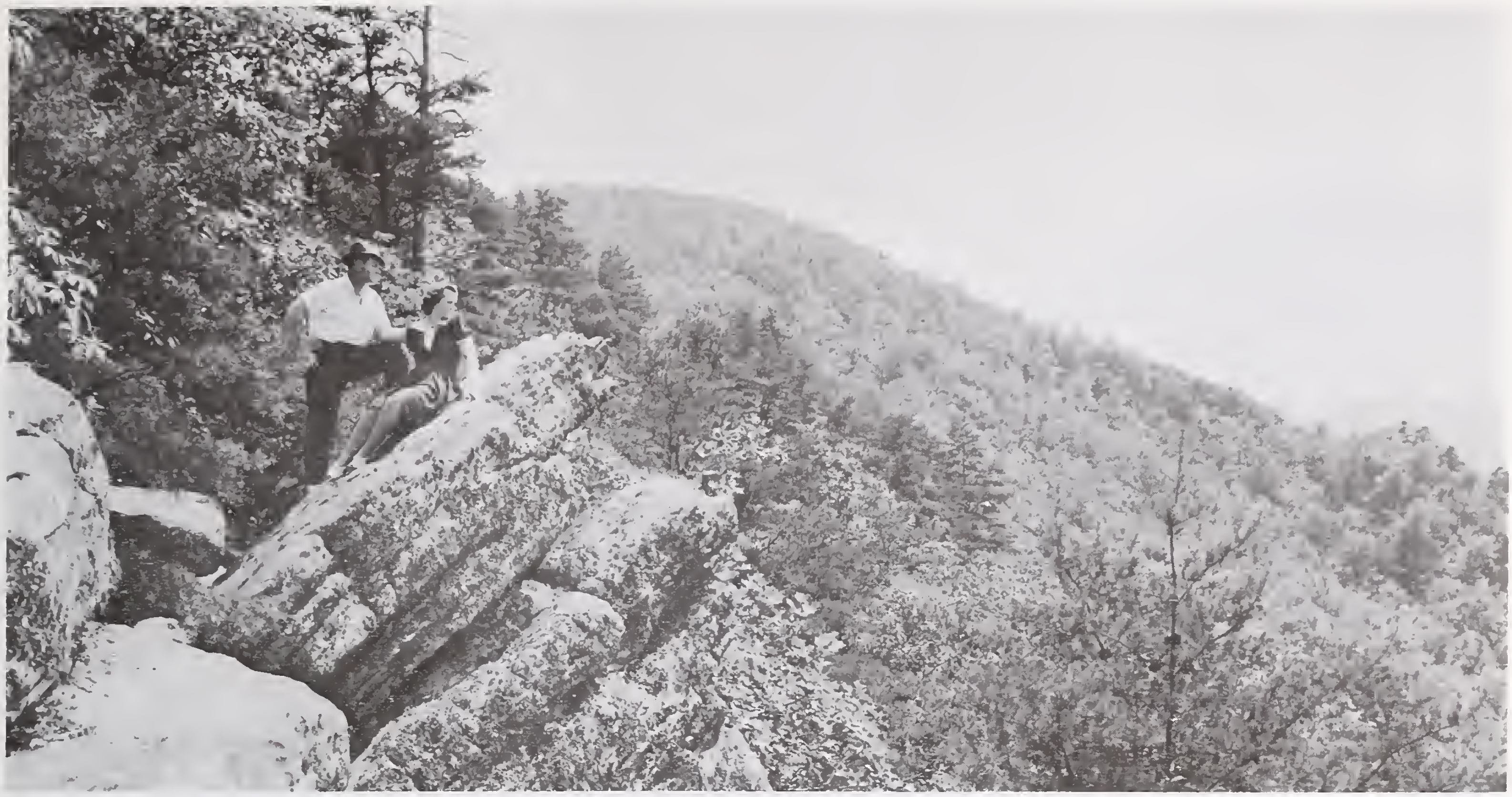
Although the State of North Carolina had taken over the major portion of school and highway costs, the county was, in effect, virtually without funds. Services were minimal, and the rates of tax delinquency very high. The condition of county records was so poor that an exact picture of its financial situation was impossible, but the report concluded that the county had probably gained more than it had lost through the presence of the National Forest. Benefits included road construction and maintenance, development of recreation areas, free-use permits granted to county residents, use of Forest Service telephone lines, and employment on the forest. The report estimated that the county had received directly $12,500, chiefly in money spent for roads, and that it could have collected, at most, $8,000 in taxes from the Nantahala National Forest lands if they had remained in private ownership.[42]

Another representative mountain county was Johnson County, Tenn. It was also completely rural, but its farms were somewhat better than those of Macon County. However, tax defaults were common, and the county was also in debt. About 21 percent of the county had been purchased for the Unaka National Forest (now the northern Cherokee). Almost all of the rest was included within the planned future Forest boundaries, but in 1936 it did not seem likely that more land would be purchased soon. The report, which was less thorough than the study of Macon County, concluded that the county had lost about $3,300 in taxes and gained roads worth $8,250 per year in the years immediately preceding 1936. Other benefits such as recreation areas and employment of local residents were not estimated in this report.[43]

While Johnson County would undoubtedly have liked more tax money for operating expenses, the presence of the forest did tend to reduce many county expenses. The principal county expenditures were for law enforcement, roads, and schools. For the 21 percent of the county land already in the National Forest, no county funds were spent on roads, and the need for both schools and law enforcement was low because few people lived there.

In spite of the conclusion that local government had generally not lost much or even had gained by the presence of National Forests, the Forest Service and other Federal land agencies continued to work on a plan for reform of the method of payment to local government. The problem was that income from the 25 percent payment plan fluctuated too greatly for counties to use the money in their financial planning, and that some counties got no money because National Forest land was not yet productive.[44] It proved impossible to come up with a new plan satisfactory to all concerned and it was to be many years before a basic change was made in the payment method.

While large tracts were purchased in the Southern Appalachians during the Depression, it was the purchase of smaller tracts to consolidate the Forests which had the most visible impact on the mountain people. The files of the NFRC



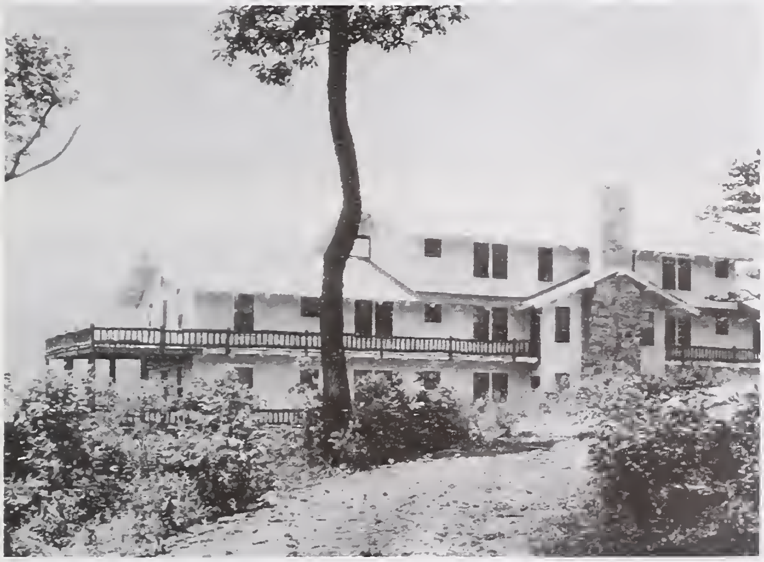


Figure 53.—Rocky Face Mountain, overlooking forested Mill Creek valley, near Dug Gap in Armuchee Ranger District, Chattahoochee National Forest, near Dalton, Ga., in 1941. (Forest Service photo F-411617)

Figure 54.—New Wild Acres Hotel near Mt. Mitchell, N.C., on Pisgah National Forest, operating under a special-use permit in March 1930. (NA:95G-238080)

for 1935 and 1936 bulge with the records of hundreds of individual land purchases, some as small as 8 acres, many less than 200 acres. These acquisitions benefited the forests by improving fire control, game management, prevention of pollution and trash problems and in many other ways. Local governments benefited since they no longer had to worry about providing schools and roads in the areas. (They generally had made no provision for sanitation.) The more affluent small landowners benefited by acquiring cash to start over elsewhere on better farm land. Tenants and the poorer landowners were a serious problem. Many of them remained and became tenants on the forest.

Many Small Landholders Pose a Problem

The acquisition of these small parcels of land was often a complex process. First, as two decades before, few of the landowners had a clear idea of the location of the boundaries of their land. Even where boundaries were indicated by a creek or a road, the owner often had no idea of the exact number of acres he held. The Forest Service could not tell a mountain man how much money he would receive for his farm until it had been surveyed, since the purchase price would be determined by establishing the value per acre and multiplying by the number of acres. Many people felt cheated when the survey showed that they held fewer acres than they thought, and the payment for their property was therefore smaller than they had expected. On the other hand, nearly as many small landowners were pleasantly surprised to discover that they held title to more land than they realized. For example, an elderly farmer in Madison County, N.C., claimed 40 acres when he agreed to sell. Survey showed that he actually possessed 106 acres.[45]

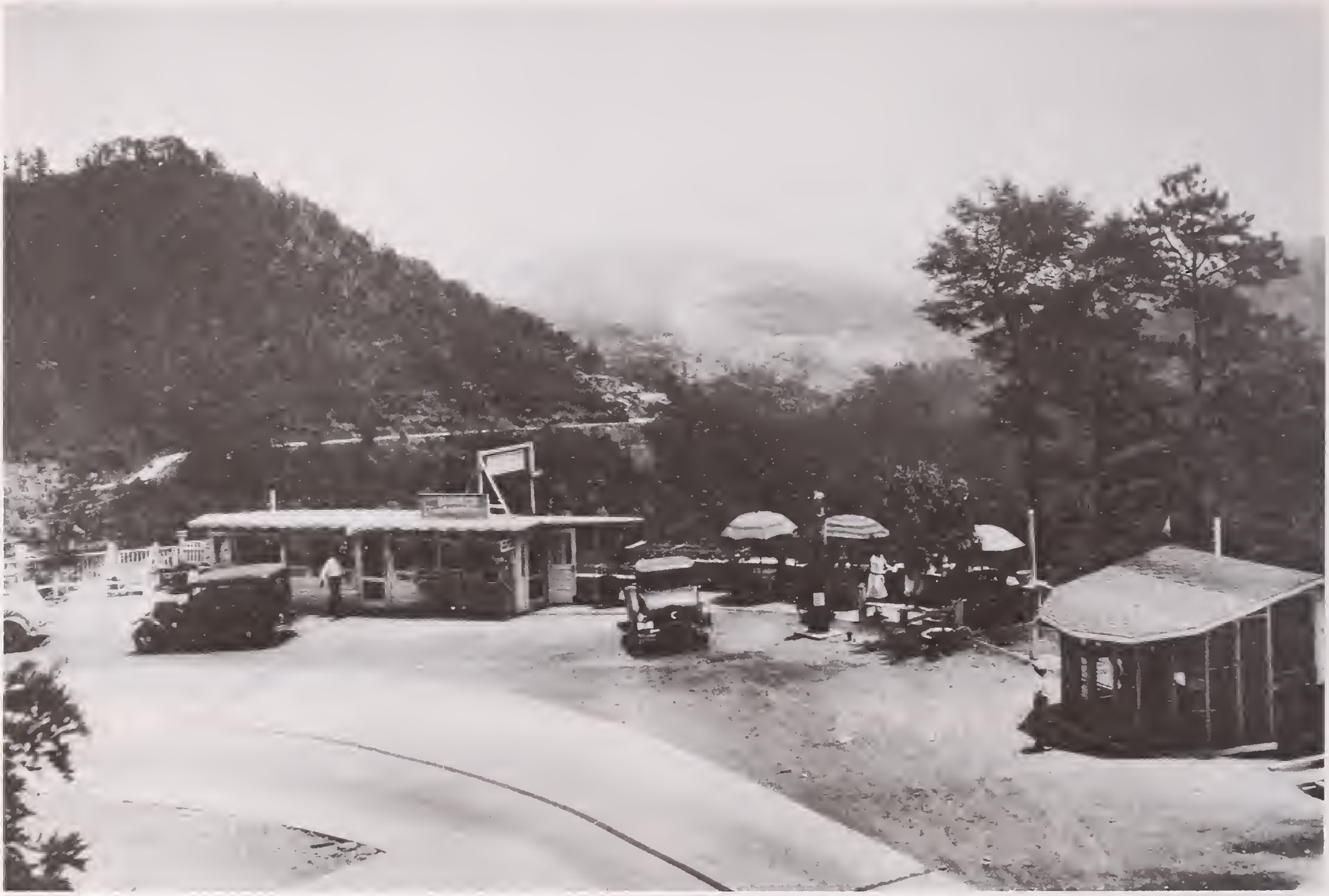


Figure 55.—Point Lookout, a special-use roadside stand concession on old State route 10 on Pisgah National Forest east of Asheville, in March 1930. (NA:95G-238161)

A sample of 50 purchases made in 1935 for the Cumberland National Forest in Kentucky revealed only one case in which the amount of land claimed by the seller agreed with the amount a survey showed that he possessed. Many of the differences were large in proportion to the size of the tract being sold. The numbers of overestimates and underestimates were about equal.[46] Purchases for the Unaka and Nantahala Forests in North Carolina, Tennessee, and Georgia all showed similar discrepancies—occasionally quite large—between the number of acres claimed by the seller and the number of acres determined by survey.[47]

These confusions over land boundaries were one facet of another complicating factor. Many of the mountain people did not have clear title to their lands. Inheritance, previous sale of a portion of the land, and inadequate local recordkeeping all contributed to this problem. A landowner often wished to sell land with title defects. Since the Government could not acquire the land unless the title could be cleared, this had to be done by "friendly" condemnation.

In contrast to the land acquisition policy of TVA, the Forest Service continued to follow its established rule of never condemning the land of an unwilling seller. Most of its condemnation cases were solely to clear title. The land was acquired at a price previously agreed on. Occasionally there was conflict over the amount to be paid for a piece of land, but land was never condemned when the owner did not want to sell at all.

Consider, for example, the case of Homer Frisbie, at times a guide to hikers in Bear Creek Cove, near Hangover Mountain, Graham County, N.C. Frisbie lived with his family in a two-room log cabin on his 3-acre "farm." He had a 2-acre corn field, a garden including potatoes, beans, and rhubarb, and livestock—one cow, four calves, one pig and "about fifty chickens." Frisbie supplemented his food by hunting and fishing.

Frisbie, however, did not exactly "own" his land. County records revealed that Frisbie and his wife held a 1/30 undivided interest in a 98-acre tract optioned by Sam Sparks and others. Since the owners of the other 29/30 interests wanted to sell, a "friendly" condemnation suit had been filed. Frisbie became alarmed and obtained the help of visitors who wrote letters on his behalf, including a Chicago attorney.

One solution was for Frisbie to remain on his 3 acres and farm it with a special-use permit, but losing title to the land. Frisbie refused, wanting either to retain ownership or to obtain title to some other suitable land. North Carolina law stated that a condemnation without Frisbie's consent would be void, since he was using the tract as a home. The Forest Service might have agreed to allow Frisbie to retain title, but his plot was the last piece of a tract of nearly 30 square miles that the Forest Service had put together to establish a wildlife management area and to preserve its wildness. The tract contained the largest stand of virgin timber in the Nantahala forest. The Forest Supervisor was, naturally, eager to move Frisbie out.

Frisbie finally agreed to accept a 9.7-acre tract of Federal land in exchange. Settlement of the case took about 9 months, extensive legal correspondence, and the consideration of diverse interests. The value of the Frisbie land so acquired was only $35.00[48]

One wonders what would have happened if Homer Frisbie had not received legal help. But in another case, stubbornness won out without legal help.

In 1934 Mrs. Hester Jane Truitt, a widow, signed an option to sell her land and cabin, in Swain and Macon counties, N.C., for $1.75 per acre. She was assured of help in finding a new home to buy when she received payment. Title to the 99.4-acre farm was clouded, requiring condemnation. There were delays, and payment was not ready until March 1937. By then Mrs. Truitt realized that she would not get relocation assistance, and she could not find a new farm to purchase with the money she was entitled to. So she simply refused to accept payment and remained where she was.

In November 1940, 44 months later, an attorney for the Justice Department Lands Division visited Mrs. Truitt to see why she had not accepted payment. A portion of his account of the visit follows.

> Mrs. Truitt, whom I judge to be about 65 years of age, lives on the condemned property with her daughter, whom I judge to about 35 years of age. Leaving my car at the nearest road approach to the premises, I climbed a rugged mountain trail about three-fourths of a mile up to Mrs. Truitt's cabin. The cabin is located in a small field, possibly three and one-half acres in total area, in which were a few scragly fruit trees, a pig pen, and a crude cow-shelter, and apparently two acres of corn stubble. The ground indications were that the corn had been cultivated largely by use of the hoe. I saw three head of cattle and several chickens about the place. Every pound of supplies used in the house or on the land that comes from the outside has to be carried up the path by which I climbed . . . The whole appearance from a physical appraisement looked about as hopeless to sustain human occupants as any I ever came in contact with; and my own origin was in the rugged Blue Ridge Mountains.

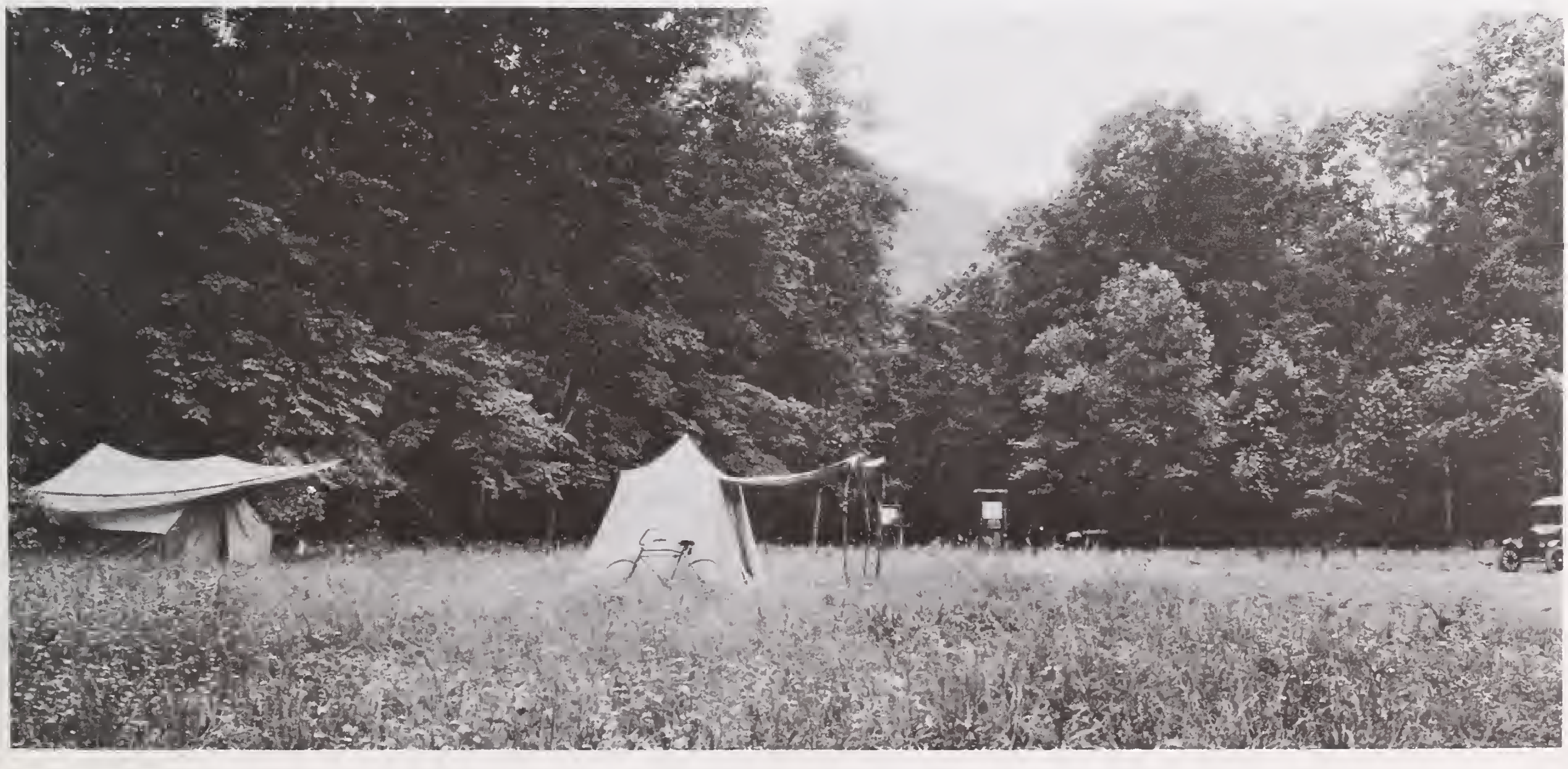


Figure 56.—Bent Creek Forest Camp, overnight public recreation site on Pisgah National Forest near Asheville, N.C., in March 1930. (NA:95G-238168)

> Mrs. Truitt said she had been waiting a long time for my visit and she wondered what kind of man would come there to tell her that she must leave her home that she had helped to clear out of the woods with her own hands and where she had reared a large family of children. She just wanted me to tell her what kind of government I was working for, which through its (forestry) representatives promised her and her neighbors if they would petition for the establishment of the Government Forest they would be paid enough for their lands to enable them to get better placed in the valleys; and that after she so petitioned, would send me around to offer her less than one hundred dollars after taxes for the home she had occupied for forty years. What kind of home would that amount buy for her and her daughter, who had many years to live after she, Mrs. Truitt, would be gone, she asked?
>
> The conclusion of the matter was that she flatly declined to touch a cent of the award; and said that when she moved from those premises she would be carried feet-foremost.[49]

It was finally decided to remove her tract from the condemnation and return the $173.95 to the U.S. Treasury.[50] Lacking both an influential advocate and a legal leg to stand on, Mrs. Truitt nevertheless retained her land through sheer stubbornness.

While Mrs. Truitt actually retained title to her mountain farm, so that her daughter could also continue to live there after her death, some elderly residents sold the land to the Forest Service but reserved lifetime rights.

They continued to occupy their homes until they died, although the Government immediately acquired title to the land. The price paid for the land was reduced in such cases, and the occupants became subject to forest regulations on burning and trash disposal. Since the Government held title to the land, no State or local taxes would have to be paid. In some cases the Forest Service required that no change be made in the use of the land without the district ranger's permission. A cash payment plus the right to remain in their homes gave some financial security for such older residents in their last years. Life interests were granted only to those over 65, thus ensuring that complete control of the land would pass to the Forest Service before long. Examples occurred in all of the Southern Appalachian forests, but the number was small.[51]

Forest Service as Landlord; Sublimity Project

As early as 1934, Forest Service administrators realized that their extensive program of forest land purchase would create problems for people, especially tenants and squatters, occupying the land. Many of these people were trying to make a living from unsuitable land only because they had no place else to go.

A policy established in September 1934 stated that all persons occupying land acquired for the National Forests could continue to live there by paying a "special-use fee." This fee generally would be slightly less than the taxes payable on the land if it were in private ownership. Holders of special-use permits for residence and cultivation would be subject to land use requirements intended to minimize damage to the land, including restrictions on fires, trash disposal, timber cutting, and whatever else the district ranger thought necessary or enforceable.[52]

At that time it was hoped that rural resettlement programs might find new and better homes for many of these people. With the end of that hope, the Forest Service became a more permanent landlord. Even in 1934 provision was made for isolated pockets of good farm land within National Forests. Permanent authorization of special use for such areas was permitted, as long as this did not interfere with forest management.[53]

The mountain forest that had the greatest number of tenants was the newly created Cumberland National Forest in Kentucky, where purchases began in 1933. The one resettlement project, Sublimity, intended to provide better homes for those who had been displaced by the establishment of the forest, was a very limited success.[54] The Sublimity Forest community was planned, constructed, and managed by the Forest Service with funds provided by the Resettlement Administration and later the Farm Security Administration.

Forest work needed by Sublimity residents to supplement their farm and garden income was never adequate. The high standards set for housing and social services made the cost per family prohibitive. Families carefully selected from a number of applications became disillusioned with the project and left. Between 1937 and 1945, 103 families lived in the project. The average period of occupancy was 18.8 months, and the average rate was 73 percent or 48 of the 66 homes in the community.

A 1947 Forest Service report on the project, written after it had been terminated, recommended that the "establishment of rehabilitation communities on or in connection with national forests be discouraged." The author of the study concluded that Sublimity had been useful as an experiment, but that organized, managed communities were not workable either socially or economically. Socially, "improvements" in the peoples' lives and attitudes were difficult to make and required constant supervision to maintain. Economically, the project closed with a net loss of $73,870, an unacceptable cost for a small project.[55]

One forest officer commented, "Sublimity to me was a nightmare, much more depressing from a psychological point of view than World War II."[55] No one wished to repeat the Sublimity experiment, including the local people who refused to apply for homes there or voted against it by simply moving out.

Lumber and shingles from dismantled CCC camps were used to improve some of the Sublimity homes. Longrange plans were made to improve homes, outbuildings, and the farmland itself, but funds for this work were always very limited. Forest

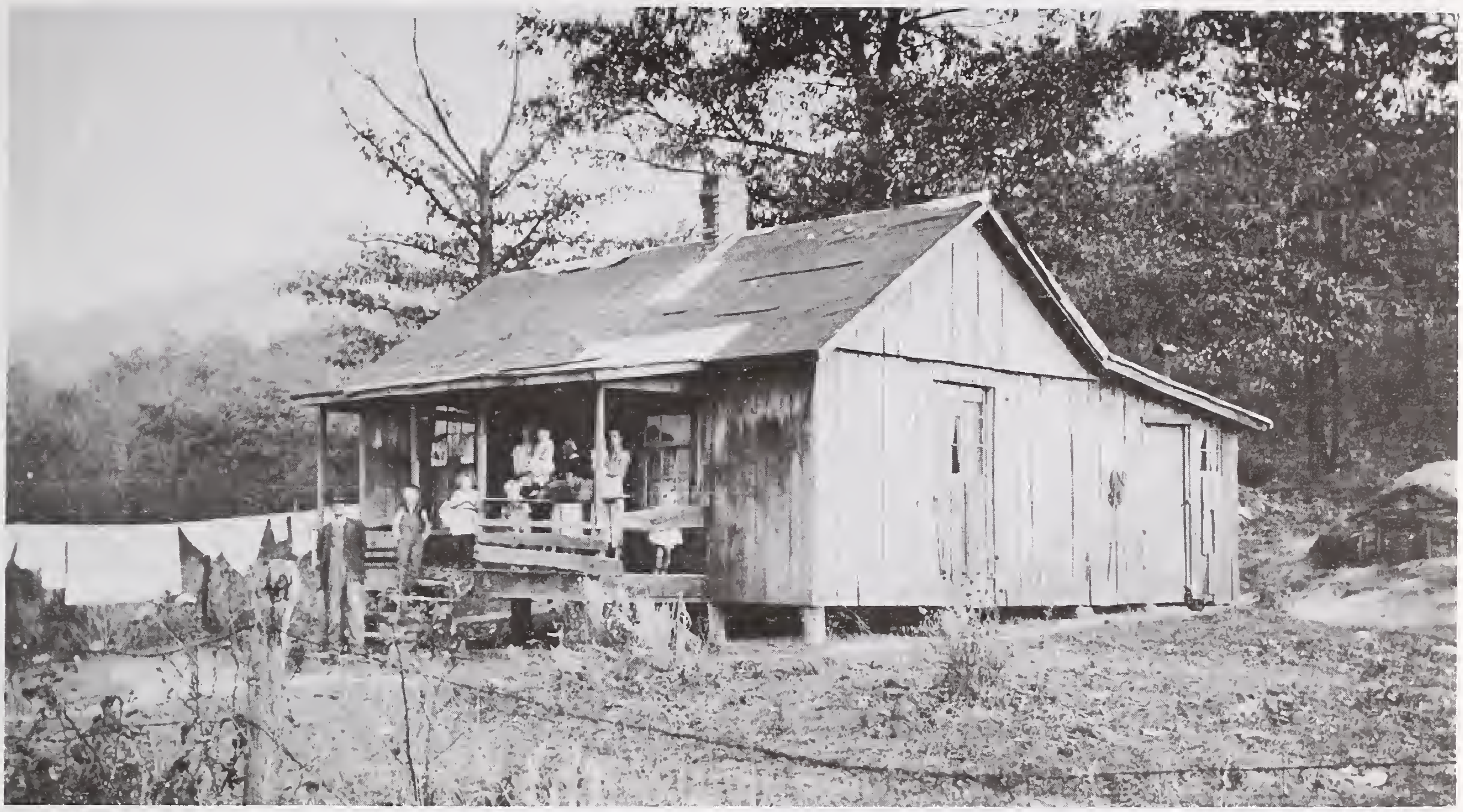


Figure 57.—Mountain farm family at their cottage in Currens Valley, Smyth County, Va., Jefferson National Forest, in November 1939. (NA:95G-390771)

Service personnel felt a responsibility to the people, but they were uncomfortable in a "social work" role.

> What type of structures should the Forest Service provide its tenants? What should our standards be? The TVA, so Richards told us, has spent from $400 to $1500 for each set of improvements owned and rented by the Government under similar conditions under the TVA. Forest Service expenditures on cases sampled during our trip were from $35 to $122 per case. These expenditures resulted in placing the properties in as habitable a condition as the general run of improvements occupied by the better tenants and the smaller owners in the same neighborhood. Should we attempt to raise these standards? Should we provide something besides bare board walls inside the house and floors as well as ceilings that the housewife will be especially proud of? Should we be so "extravagant" as to provide bright colored paints for the exterior of the dwellings? In addition, what kind and what use of incentives should be used to encourage these people to raise their standards? Such problems are over the head of the average forester but are quite probably everyday matters to the trained social worker. For this reason, we would join the Region in suggesting the assignment of a sufficient number of trained social workers to this field until a satisfactory plan and procedure for handling these cases has been developed.[57]

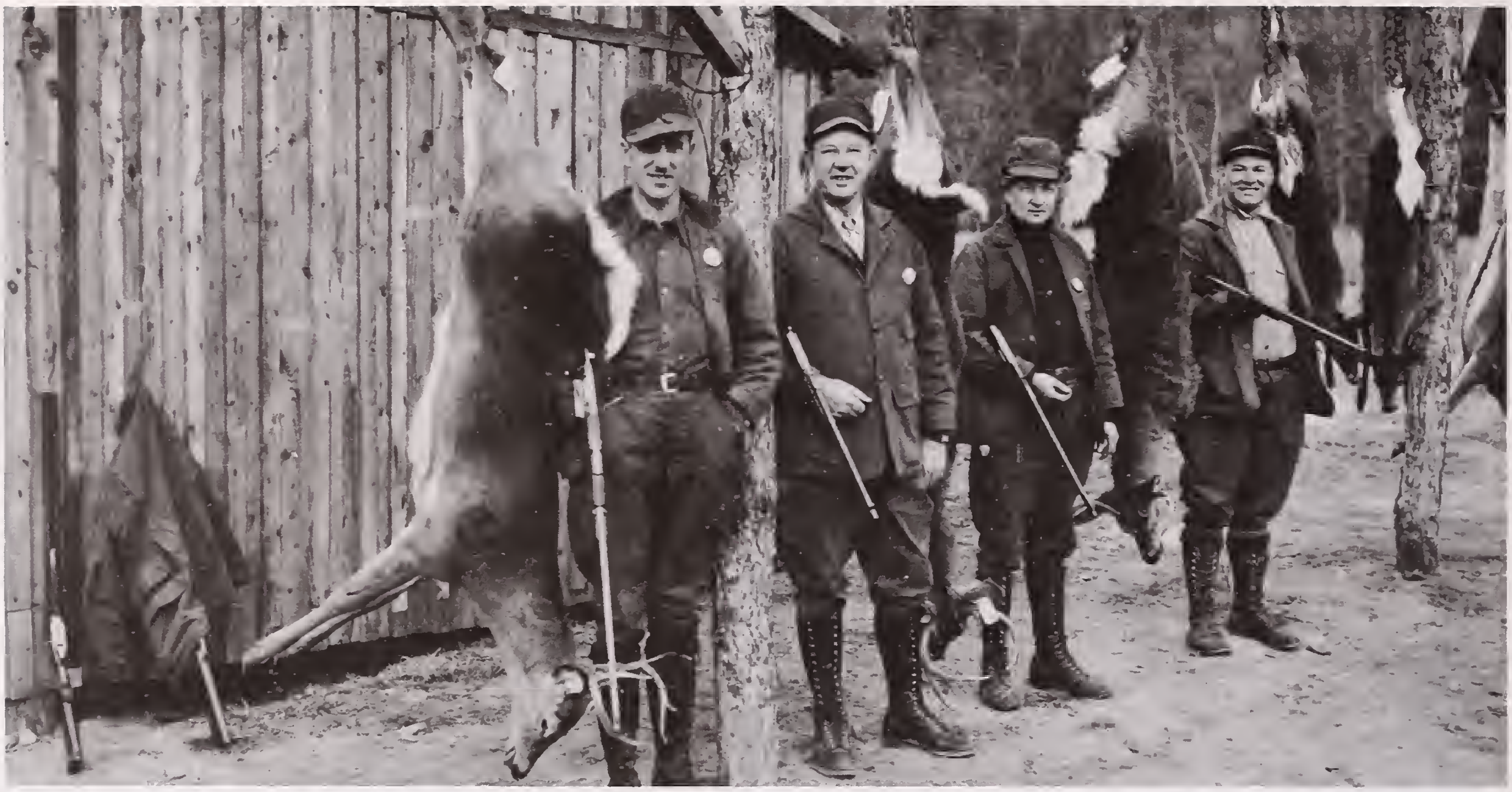
Forest officers understandably wanted to turn the problems over to someone else.

Dealing With Forest Residents

While Forest Service officers may have been uncomfortable in their roles as "landlord," they were more at home in dealing with local people in other ways. Technical personnel, clerical workers, and unskilled labor were usually local residents. The district ranger (or his staff, if any) was the "boss" for these workers, a role in which the forest officers were generally comfortable and quite successful.[58]

Forest Service officers also dealt with people who requested special-use permits. The poor squatters and tenants mentioned earlier occupied their homes and land under special permits, sometimes free, sometimes paying a small fee. Similar permits were issued for a multitude of uses from resort hotels and industrial developments to cutting firewood or fenceposts. A Forest Service report in 1940 concluded that:

> It is probable that all of this special use business is so much taken for granted that it has little influence on the attitudes of people except when they are refused some desired privilege. Such disapprovals result in more or less hostility and resentment.[59]



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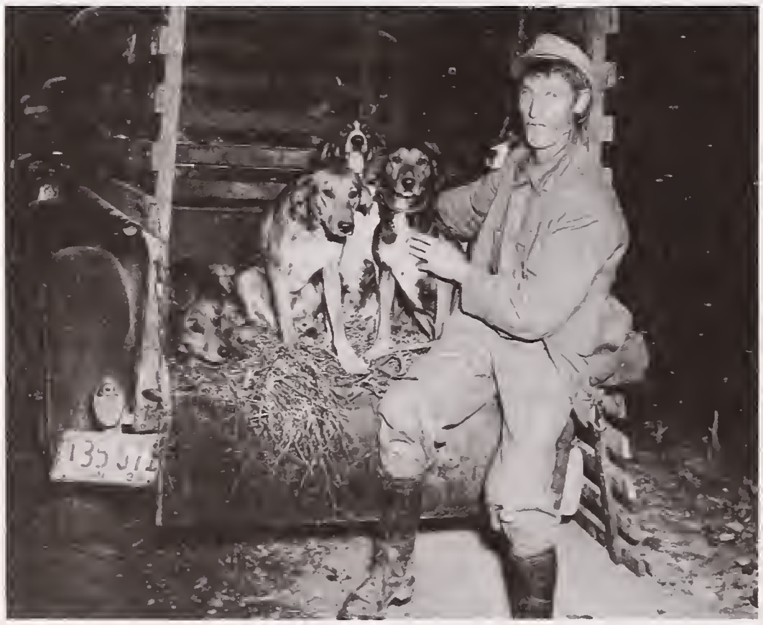

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Figure 58.—Successful hunters with their buck deer after a special Forest Service-regulated hunt on Pisgah National Forest, N.C., in fall 1939. (NA:95G—397105)

Figure 59.—Guide Bud Graves of Tellico Plains, Tenn., holding his dogs as he waited to be checked into hunting area for Forest Service-regulated wild boar hunt on Cherokee National Forest in fall 1941. (Forest Service photo F-414169)

Figure 60.—This 300-pound Prussian wild boar was the largest taken in the fall 1944 hunt regulated by the Forest Service in Tellico Wildlife Management Area, Cherokee National Forest, Tenn. Hunter was L. W. Galloway of Kingsport, Tenn. (Forest Service photo F-433225)

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Some hostility and resentment also stemmed from the establishment of wildlife management areas where hunting was restricted, since local residents often were accustomed to hunting as a supplement to their food supply. Hunting has never been prohibited on National Forests, but the forest lands are subject to State laws regulating hunting and fishing. Limits on the hunting season and on the hunters' bag are often resented, as are hunting license requirements.

Active game management in the Appalachian highlands generally dates from the 1930's, so this was a new source of problems at the time. The purpose of the controls was to improve hunting and fishing in the forests and preserve the possibility of such sports for the future. Game animals had been shot out or starved out of much of the newly acquired land and restocking had to take place. However, there was good hunting in the better forested older areas. No Federal fee was charged for hunting and fishing in the National Forests, but about this time residents were required to obtain a State hunting or fishing license for the first time, which was an annoyance to many.

Fire control and land acquisition remained the two principal areas of activity where forest officers came in contact with local people. Fire prevention publicity, organization of fire crews, investigation of man-caused fires for prosecution—these tasks occupied much of the time of many forest officers.

Figure 61.—Blackened spots where boy is standing show how a farmer's land-clearing brush fire got away in a high wind in 1942 to burn 2,000 acres of the adjoining Cherokee National Forest, the margin of which is visible in foreground. (Forest Service photo F-419862)

Figure 62.—A local farmer serving as a fire warden for the USDA Forest Service on the Daniel Boone (then Cumberland) National Forest, Ky., in August 1940. The Forest Service furnished such wardens with a telephone in their homes, to report forest fires. (Forest Service photo F-400243)

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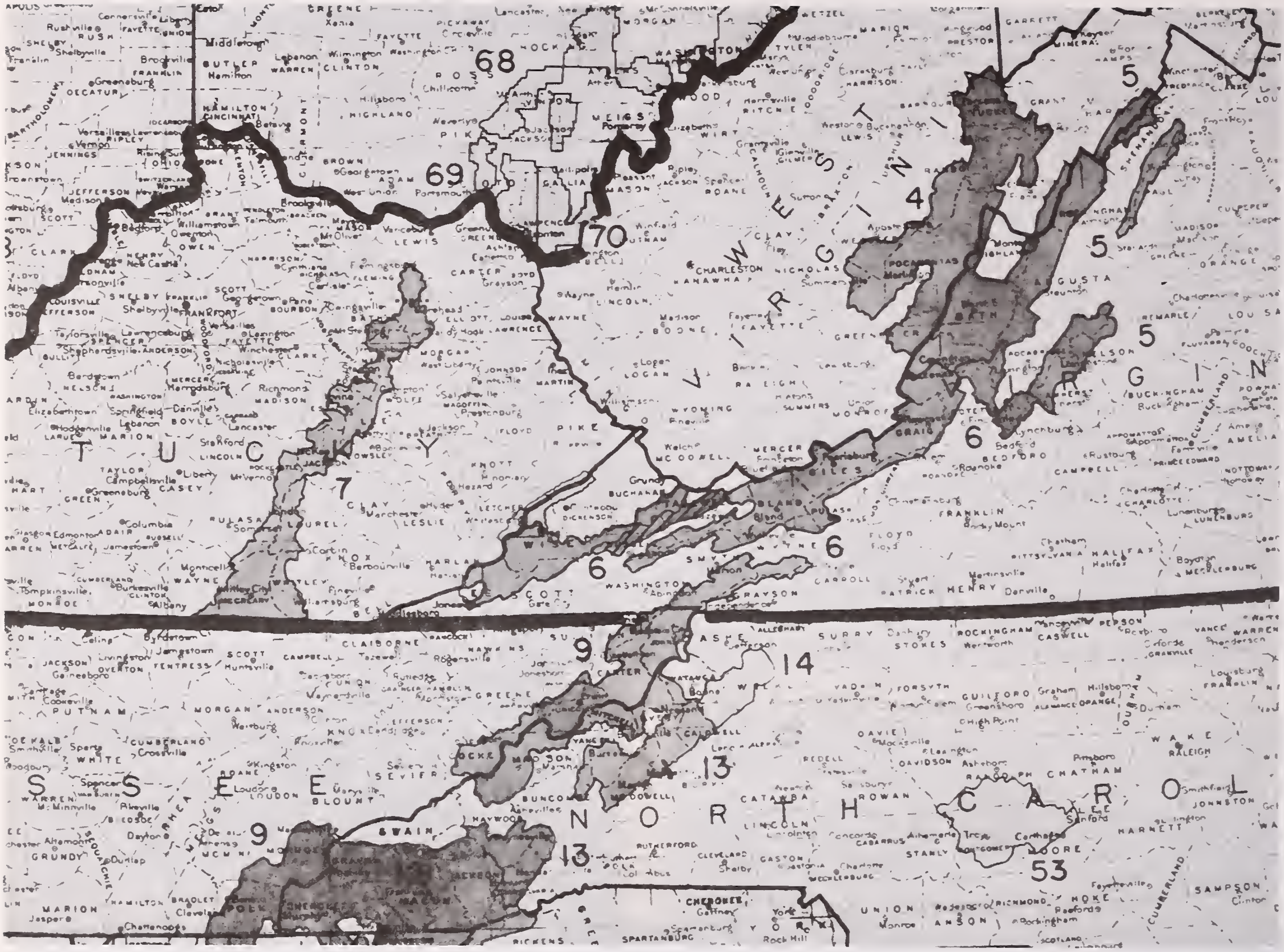
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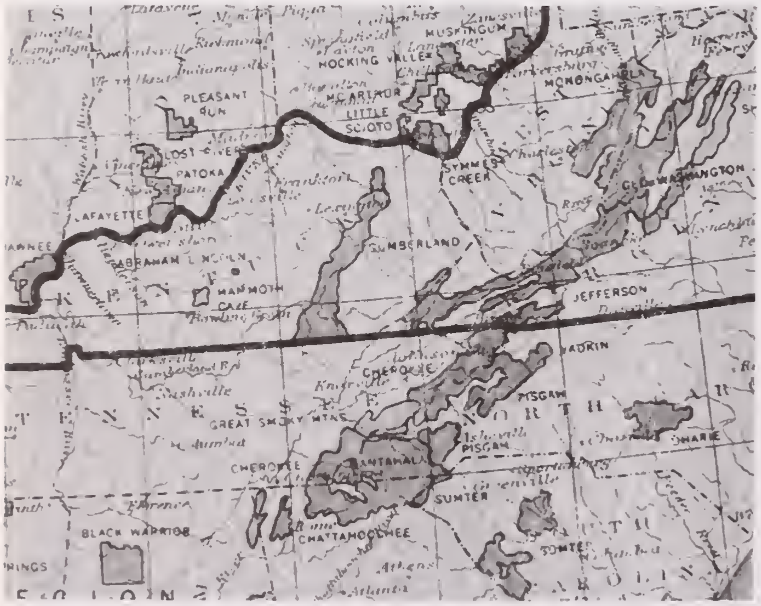
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CUMBERLAND
GEO. WASHINGTON
MAMMOTH CAVE
JEFFERSON
CHEROKEE
PISGAH
GREAT SMOKY MTNS
NANTAHALA
SUMTER
CHATTAHOOCHEE
BLACK WARRIOR
CROATAN
UWHARRIE

Figure 63.—The National Forests, and Purchase Units (lighter blocks), of the Southern Appalachian Mountains in 1938 show only a few changes from 1935. The major additions were taking place in the Gulf States. (U.S. Geological Survey map; Forest Service photo)

Figure 64.—The National Forests and Purchase Units of the Southern Appalachians in 1940, showing the consolidations of 1936. The forests and units in North Georgia had been combined to form the Chattahoochee, those in Tennessee to form the new enlarged Cherokee, and those in South Carolina to form the Sumter. The Unaka was divided along State lines among the Cherokee, Pisgah, and Jefferson National Forests in 1936. The units north of the Ohio River are Purchase Units, except the Shawnee, which had just been established. National Parks are also shown. (Forest Service map and photo)

Because of the extensive land acquisitions in the 1930's, related activities occupied relatively more time and led to more individual contacts with people than in recent years. It was a long, drawn-out process. As in the early years, after a purchase area was established, forest officers would interview landowners in the area regarding their interest in selling their land. Since prices offered were generally not high, much discussion would result. The forest officer would also have to explain the Forest Service process of land acquisition and forewarn the seller of the possibility of delay in consummating the purchase. Once an option was obtained from a willing seller, a survey crew would retrace old survey lines, conferring with all adjacent landowners to help locate the corners and check the accuracy of the survey. A crew would then come in to inventory the timber and classify the soil to determine the value of the land for forest purposes. The relations of these crews with local people could be touchy.

> In the early states of such work, forest officers are in danger of being mistaken for 'revenuers' and most take some pains to make their identity known to residents.[60]

Further negotiations often would result, sometimes over a considerable period of time. If the landowner decided to accept the final offer made to him, a final survey would be made to establish permanent corners and mark lines. The results of this final survey could lead to trouble if the lines were not where the owner thought they should be. As we have already seen, this was often the case. Still another source of trouble remained.

> Final payment is made to a man for the land he has sold. Much ill will results from preposterous delays in making final payment because of highly technical legal demands from legal authorities regarding title, squatters on land, etc. Although Forest Service has fought for years for a more rational handling of title work, little real progress has been made until just recently.[61]

On large tracts of land purchased from absentee owners there were often squatters who had been there for years and had, or thought they had, some claim to the land. Numerous grievances arose out of all these situations.

One Week on the Job With a Ranger

A Memorandum of Inspection from the Cherokee National Forest shows how some of these interactions with people fit into the weekly routine of a district ranger.[61] Hiwassee District Ranger J.W. Cooper, accompanied by the Assistant Forest Supervisor, E.W. Renshaw, toured his district in mid-April 1938, handling a variety of problems. The first stop on their tour was Hiwassee Beach, where the operator of the beach (a special-use permit holder) had requested that the Forest Service install a telephone. The ranger pointed out that the Forest Service could only install telephones needed for fire control purposes, but he suggested that the local residents might want to build their own telephone line. They could use the existing Forest Service telephone poles if they wished.

The two officers then checked the complaint of the man who had protested that Forest Service telephone line maintenance had destroyed trees and shrubs close to his summer cabin. Cooper concluded that the CCC had probably done a little more clearing than was necessary when they built the line in 1935, but nothing could be done about it.

The next day Cooper spent several hours with a junior forester who was conducting a "visible area study," to help plan lookout tower locations. Cooper and Renshaw then proceeded to the Tumbling Creek area to investigate a boundary dispute with a landowner who claimed that an Experimental Project crew had placed a weather observatory and a weir (for stream observation) on her property. Relations with this woman had become "rather strained." There was much difficulty in checking the boundary, as the line had never been painted and the corner marker had been destroyed.

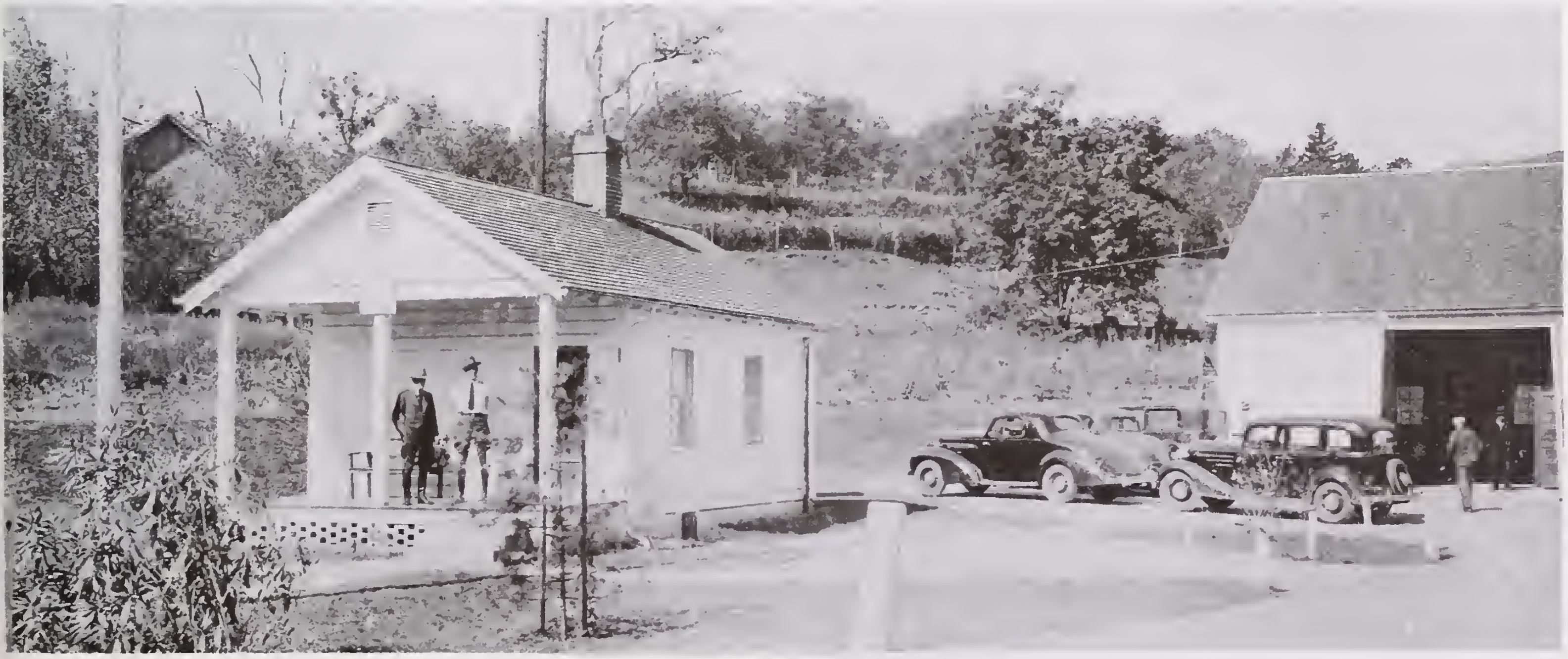

Figure 65.—Tallulah (until 1931 called Clayton) Ranger Station, Clayton, Ga., in 1935. The District was then part of Nantahala National Forest. The Georgia portion of the old Nantahala was transferred to the new Chattahoochee National Forest on July 9, 1936. (NA:95G-310056)

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Ranger Cooper and Assistant Supervisor Renshaw then returned to a nearby Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) camp where they found that a crew had been out fighting a forest fire. The next day they went to the site of the fire to investigate. They found stumps and logs still burning, so they called the crew back to put it out, and then checked the site for clues. Clear evidence remained that the fire had started from a campfire built by fox hunters. The ranger backtracked on the hunters and found the farmer's yard where they had parked their car. The farmer identified it. Through the car's license number the hunters were traced and eventually a conviction was secured.

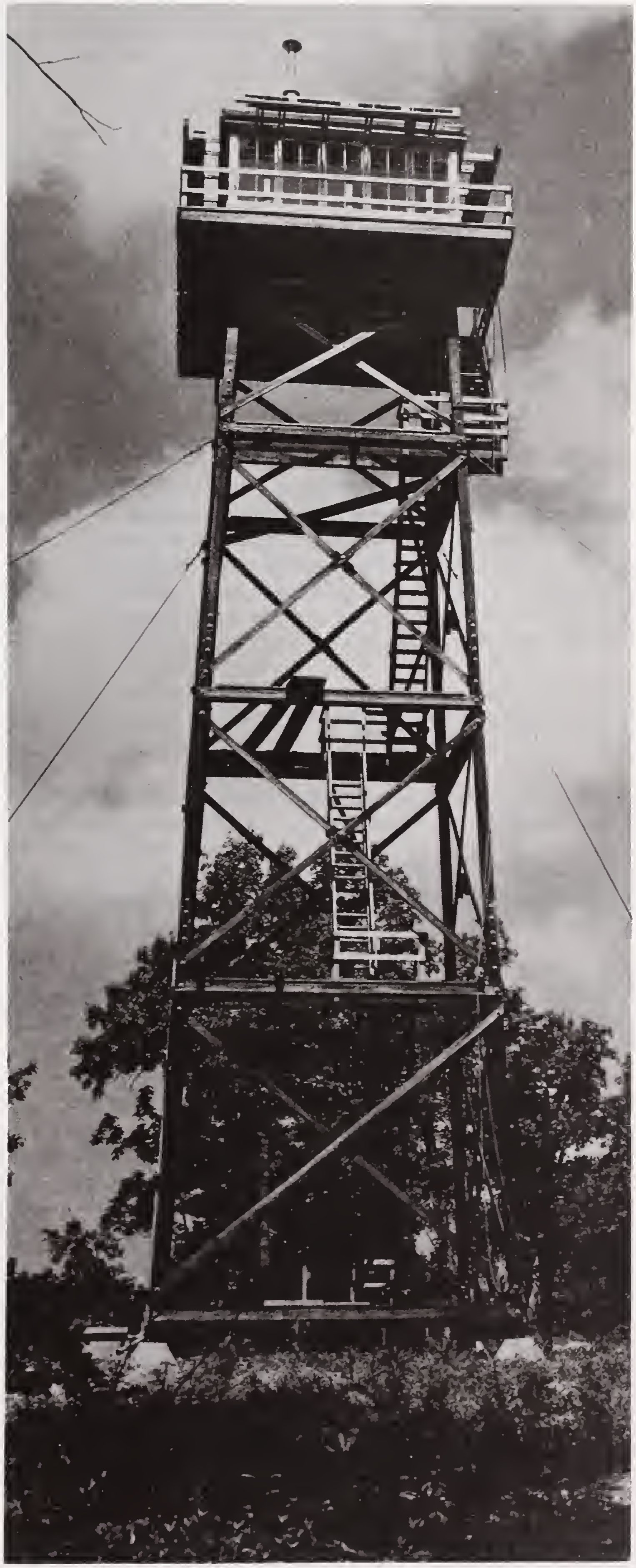
A district ranger, dealing with land acquisition, timber sales, fire suppression, telephone lines, lookouts, information, special-use permit complaints, and a host of other issues, was the backbone of forest administration. He generally had the greatest influence on the image held by local people of the Forest Service. During the week described above, the ranger interacted with a recreation facility operator, two vacation home owners, a CCC camp, and a group of fox hunters—possibly not local since they had come by car and thus the neighboring farmer was willing to give evidence against them. This list raises questions as early as 1938, about the kind of people who lived near, or used, National Forest land. There is little interaction with a traditional mountain community; rather, the ranger was dealing with people who had a recreational interest in the forest. The farmer, who was the only fulltime resident, was extremely helpful in the investigation of the origins of the forest fire.

Conditions varied somewhat from forest to forest, and in parts of the same forest. Perhaps at another time of year the contacts would be different. A ranger in Kentucky, where the Cumberland National Forest had a large number of tenants, would probably have been interacting more with a community of mountain people at that period. The pressure on the land to provide the necessities of life was apparently greater in the Cumberland then than in some of the longer-established forests along the crest of the Appalachians.[63]

Figure 66.—Blue Ridge Ranger Station office and warehouses near Blairsville, Ga., when new in 1938. Station was moved to Dahlonega in 1952 and name was changed to Chestatee. Chattahoochee National Forest. (NA:95G-386658)

Figure 67.—Ranger explaining use of anemometer (wind gauge) in forest fire control to businessmen from London and Berea, Ky., at Bald Rock fire tower, Sublimity Ranger District, Daniel Boone (then Cumberland) National Forest, in June 1938. (NA:95G-365420)

Figure 68.—Steel lookout tower secured by steel cables, topped with an 8- x 8-foot lookout house and walkway on all sides, on Chestnut Mountain, Armuchee Ranger District, Chattahoochee National Forest, south of Dalton, Whitfield County, Ga., completed in 1941. (Forest Service photo F-411612)



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Reference Notes

(In the following notes, the expression "NA, RG 83" means National Archives, Record Group 83, Records of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics (USDA); "NA, RG 95, OC, NFRC" means National Archives, Record Group 95, Records of the Forest Service (USDA), Office of the Chief, National Forest Reservation Commission; and "NA, RG 96" means National Archives, Record Group 96, Records of the Farm Security Administration (USDA). "WNRC, FSR" means Washington National Records Center, Forest Service records. See Bibliography, IX.)

1. 50 Stat. 188; 64 Stat. 473; 50 Stat 525. Harold K. Steen, *The U.S. Forest Service: A History* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1975), pp. 327, 328.

2. Glen Lawhorn Parker, *The Coal Industry: A Study in Social Control* (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Public Affairs, 1940), p. 67.

3. National Archives, Record Group 83, Records of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics (BAE), USDA, Forest Service, Soil Conservation Service, and Bureau of Agricultural Economics: "Preliminary Examination Reports," Yellow Creek Watershed, 1939; Pee Dee River Watershed, 1938; New River Watershed, 1940; Roanoke River Watershed, 1941; Big Sandy River Watershed, 1940. These reports contain much useful economic information on the mountain areas where these rivers and their tributaries rise.

4. Duke University, Perkins Library, Gennett Lumber Company, Papers, Box 24, Andrew Gennett to C. W. Savage, Murphy, N.C., October 15, 1934.

5. Ignatz Pikl, Jr., *A History of Georgia Forestry*, p. 25. See also note 3, "Preliminary Examination Reports."

6. National Archives, Record Group 95, Records of the Forest Service, Office of the Chief, National Forest Reservation Commission, Minutes, January 11, 1934.

7. NA, RG 83 (BAE), "Preliminary Examination Reports," Pee Dee River Watershed 1938. Although counties did not make adjustments readily to the lower land values of the Depression, in most cases land was taxed at a fairly low rate.

8. Harry Caudill, *Night Comes to the Cumberlands*, Chapter 13.

9. Cratis D. Williams, "The Southern Mountaineer in Fact and Fiction" (Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1961), p. 101.

10. Washington National Records Center, Forest Service Records, Accession No. 59A1532, Forest Service Memo: "Social Aspects of National Forest Management" by John H. Hatton, Assistant Regional Forester (Region 2), June, 1934.

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12. Elwood R. Maunder, *Dr. Richard E. McArdle: An Interview With the Former Chief, U.S. Forest Service, 1952-1962* (Santa Cruz, Calif.: Forest History Society, 1975), p. 84; and Robert F. Collins, *A History of the Daniel Boone National Forest* (Lexington, Ky.: University of Kentucky Press, 1975), pp. 262-263.

13. Edwin Nourse, Joseph Davis, and John Black, *Three Years of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration* (Washington, D.C., 1937).

14. National Archives, Record Group 96, Records of the Farm Security Administration, Correspondence, Records of Regional Director, Region 4, 1935-40, AAA Land Policy Section, Division of Program Planning, W.D. Nicholls, University of Kentucky College of Agriculture, to L. C. Gray, Division of Land Economics, Land Policy, Agricultural Adjustment Administration, April 14, 1934.

15. NA, RG 96, Farm Security Administration (FSA), W. D. Nicholls to L. C. Gray April 6, 1934; L. C. Gray to W. D. Nicholls April 12, 1934. See note 14.

16. NA, RG 96, Farm Security Administration (FSA), Records of the Regional Director, Region 4, Land Policy Section, Division of Program Planning, AAA, 1934-35, "My Experiences While Working on the Submarginal Land Program in Knox County, Kentucky" by W. P. Mayhew, Field Supervisor, November 10, 1934. Also similar reports prepared by Elmer Pritchard, Edward S. Amis and Dr. Wayne T. Gray, field clerks, in November, 1934.

17. NA, RG 96, FSA, Mayhew, "My Experiences in Knox County," Region 4, Land Policy, AAA, 1934-35.

18. NA, RG 96, FSA, Records of Region 4 Land Policy Section, Division of Program Planning, AAA, Report—1934, Kentucky Ridge Area.

19. NA, RG 96, FSA, Correspondence of the Regional Director, Region 4, 1935-40. Tilford E. Dudley, Chief, Legal Division, The Land Program, F.E.R.A., to Carl C. Taylor, Regional Director, Land Policy Section, AAA, February 7, 1935.

20. NA, RG 83, Bureau of Agricultural Economics (BAE), Appalachian Regional Office Records, 1935, Kentucky 184.

21. NA, RG 83, BAE, Appalachian Records, 1935, Kentucky 184.

22. Interview with Dr. Billie DeWalt, Winchester, Ky., July 27, 1979. Dr. DeWalt was employed by the Forest Service to do a community study in the Red River Gorge area.

23. NA, RG 96, FSA, Correspondence of the Regional Director, Region 4, AAA, 1935-40, Resettlement of Land Utilization Clients, Report, September 29, 1936, Kentucky Ridge Forest Project, L.U.-Ky 1.

24. NA, RG 96, FSA, Region 4, Resettlement Division, AAA, 1935-40, List of Projects, 1936, and C. B. Faris, Assistant Regional Director, to Mack J. Morgan, Resettlement Representative, Lexington, Ky., April 7, 1936.

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26. WNRC, Forest Service Records, Accession No. 95780002, Report on Proposed Extension of the Pisgah National Forest, May 9, 1934.

27. NA, RG 96, FSA, Correspondence of the Regional Director, Region 4, AAA, Joseph C. Kircher, Regional Forester, to Dr. Carl C. Taylor, Regional Director, Division of Program Planning, AAA Lands, October 27, 1934.

28. NA, RG 96, FSA, Correspondence of the Regional Director, Land Policy Section, Division of Program Planning, AAA, Region 4, Paul W. Wager, Regional Assistant, Land Policy Section, AAA, to J. C. Kircher, U.S. Forest Service, May 14, 1935. Paul W. Wager, Acting Regional Director, Resettlement Administration, to J. C. Kircher, July 11, 1935. The Cherokees worked out a separate agreement with the Park Service. Conflicts over the need to help tenants and sharecroppers as well as farm landowners led to the resignation of a number of "social reformers" from the AAA in the Spring of 1935; W. E. Leuchtenberg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal*, (New York: Harper and Row, 1963), pp. 139-142.

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30. NA, RG 83B, Bureau of Agricultural Economics (BAE), Land Utilization Projects, Regional Files, 1934-45, Appalachian Region. See especially Nantahala-Cherokee Project and Preliminary Report of Land Use Conditions in Cherokee County, North Carolina, January, 1939.

31. Marguerite Owen, *The Tennessee Valley Authority* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1973), pp. 67-68.

32. Arthur E. Morgan, *The Making of the TVA.* (Buffalo, N.Y., 1974), pp. 75-79. Morgan and others had many ideas about social and political development of the region through TVA. Most of their ideas were never carried out. See also Clarence L. Hodge, *The Tennessee Valley Authority: A National Experiment in Regionalism* (Washington: American University Press, 1938), for efforts made to cooperate with and assist local communities and interest groups.

33. Brewer and Brewer, *Valley So Wild*, p. 259. The dam she referred to was the Fontana. See also Alfred J. Gray "Land Use Aspects of Reservoir Problems," in G. Donald Hudson, *et al*: "Studies of River Development in the Knoxville-Chattanooga Area, *Economic Geography* 15 (July, 1939).

34. Charles J. McCarthy, "Land Acquisition Policies and Procedures in TVA," *Ohio State Law Journal* (Winter, 1949).

35. Vladimir Eugene Hartman, "A Cultural Study of a Mountain Community in Western North Carolina" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1957) p. 109. See also Owen, *The TVA*, p. 27.

36. Interview with Russell Griffith and Bruce Jewell, headquarters, Cherokee National Forest, Cleveland, Tenn., July 17, 1979.

37. NA, RG 95, Records of the Forest Service, Office of the Chief, National Forest Reservation Commission (NFRC), Minutes, June 9, 1933. The information in the following section is chiefly derived from NFRC minutes. Specific citations will be provided where appropriate.

38. NA, RG 95, Office of the Chief, NFRC, Minutes, November 21, 1934.

39. Land Acquisition Records, National Forests of North Carolina, Asheville, N.C.

40. Roy Ring White, "Austin Cary and Forestry in the South" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Florida, 1960), pp. 231-239.

41. NA, RG 95, Office of the Chief, NFRC, Minutes, January 22, 1936.

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52. Washington National Records Center, Accession No. 72A3386, Forest Service Records, L. F. Kneipp, Assistant Forester, to John E. Burch, Secretary, NFRC, October 17, 1934.

53. WNRC, Forest Service Records, Acc. No. 72A3386, F. A. Silcox, Forester, to Regional Foresters, September 27, 1934. See also, Collins, *A History of the Daniel Boone National Forest*, Chapter 30, pp. 219-224.

54. Forest Service Regional Office Records, Atlanta, Ga., Lands Division, "Notes of Observations During a Trip Through Eastern Kentucky," May 22, 1940, Supervision—Cumberland National Forest. "History of the Sublimity Forest Community Situated in Laurel County, Kentucky," prepared by W. E. Hedges, 1947, pp. 5-8, 34, 80, 81.

55. Forest Service Regional Office Records, Atlanta, Ga., Lands Division, Hedges, "History of Sublimity," 1947.

56. Edward Ritter to W. E. Hedges, Jan. 17, 1947, filed with "History of Sublimity."

57. NA, RG 95, Office of the Chief, General Integrating Inspection Reports, Region 8, 1937, by E. W. Loveridge and J. A. Fitzwater. The southern lowland forests such as the Talledega and Kisatchie had more serious tenant problems than the mountain forests.

58. Washington National Records Center, Accession No. 60A931, "A List of Different Kinds of Things the Forest Service and Forest Officers Do Which Influence Residents," August 12, 1940.

59. WNRC, Acc. No. 60A931, "A List of Different Things"

60. WNRC, "A List of Different Things"

61. WNRC, "A List of Different Things"

62. NA, RG 95, CCC Camp Records, Memorandum of Inspection, Hiwassee District, Cherokee National Forest, April 18, 1938, E. W. Renshaw, Assistant Forest Supervisor, Camp Old Hickory, Tenn.

63. Forest Service Regional Office Records, Atlanta, Ga., Lands Division, "History of the Sublimity Forest Community," p. 73. In 1938, 80 free permits were issued to destitute families living in the Cumberland Forest. Several hundred additional holders of residence permits paid a small fee.

Chapter IV

The Civilian Conservation Corps

In 1933, shortly after his inauguration as President, Franklin D. Roosevelt sent to Congress an urgent request for legislation to put unemployed young men to work in conservation jobs. FDR and others had been considering such a program for several months and when Congress passed the Emergency Conservation Work Act on March 31, 1933, they moved swiftly to get the program started. Just 5 days later Robert Fechner was appointed Director of Emergency Conservation Work to head the program. The first Civilian Conservation Corps camp was occupied in less than 2 weeks. By July, 300,000 men were in CCC camps all over the United States.[1]

At first, the Forest Service was the sole CCC employer; later it employed at least half of the men. Its camps were the first established and often the last closed down, some of them existing from 1933 to the end of the CCC in 1942. In contrast, other camps were usually dismantled and moved when they completed a project, often in less than a year. The Forest Service, which for years had been short of funds and manpower for tree planting, timber stand improvement, recreation development, building telephone lines, firefighting, road and trail building, and scores of related jobs on the Forests, had responded eagerly to the opportunity. Forest supervisors promised to put young men to work as soon as they could be recruited and brought to the forests.

Other agencies supervised significant numbers of CCC camps in the Southern Appalachian Highlands. One was the new Soil Erosion Service of the Department of the Interior, headed by Hugh H. Bennett, also created in 1933. Enrollees planted trees and shrubs to help hold the soil in place and built small dams to help lessen floods, mostly on private lands. These camps are difficult to trace, as they were often temporary, and moved to a new location when their work was completed. At the strong urging of a coalition of agricultural and forestry groups, Roosevelt transferred SES to the Department of Agriculture in March 1935 and had it renamed Soil Conservation Service.[2] The National Park Service had many CCC camps in the Great Smoky Mountains National Park (16 in 1934 and 1935) and along the Blue Ridge Parkway. Other CCC camps worked on new State parks. The tasks performed by these camps were similar to those of the National Forest camps with the exception of timber stand improvement. The Tennessee Valley Authority provided work for men in about 20 camps in Tennessee and Kentucky building check dams and planting trees. TVA camps did their work both on TVA-owned lands and adjacent private land.

The Army, experienced in handling recruits, was given the job of processing the young men and operating and maintaining the camps. There was no drill or military training, but Army Reserve officers at first had to maintain discipline, arrange leisure-time activities, and provide suitable food, clothing, and shelter.

The CCC had an especially strong impact on the southern mountains and their people, so it is appropriate that the first CCC camp was located in an Appalachian National Forest.[3] As we have already seen, the CCC was indirectly responsible for the enlargement of the Southern Appalachian National Forests. The desire to find more places for the CCC to work in the East accelerated the process of acquiring more land for the forests, and $10 million in additional forest purchase funds came directly from the budget for CCC, Emergency Conservation Work. The CCC program was so successful and met so much approval nationwide that when emergency authorization for the program expired in March 1937, Congress passed new legislation continuing the program and giving it a more permanent status. Many hoped that CCC would continue after the Depression was over. As it turned out, CCC lasted only for a little over 9 years. Enlistment declined in 1941 as war industries attracted young workers. The CCC was disbanded starting in 1942, soon after the United States went to war.

Many Camps in Appalachia

CCC camps, usually with 150 to 220 enrollees each, were clustered thickly in the National Forests of Southern Appalachia.[4] The arrival of so many young men in the rural mountain counties created tensions, especially since the first CCC recruits were chiefly unemployed youth from the larger towns and cities of the States in which the camps were located. Accustomed to different standards of behavior and a different way of life, they were considered "foreigners" in the mountains, though many of them were still in their native State. Later this picture changed as the CCC recruited more young men from the neighboring farms and small towns. However, in lightly populated counties with lots of forest, local boys were often outnumbered in the camps. In the middle and late 1930's many boys came from heavily populated and urbanized New Jersey and New York, States with more unemployed youth than their forests could keep busy. These boys, many from tough big-city neighborhoods, found the southern mountains and people as strange as the natives found them.

Initially, CCC enrollees were unmarried, 17 to 21, unemployed members of families on relief or eligible for public assistance, not enrolled in school (the CCC was not a "summer job"), in good physical condition and of good character. The few World War I veterans accepted later usually had separate task-oriented camps. Both blacks and whites were enrolled, but were rarely in the same camp. The mountains had no black camps, because CCC administrators concluded large groups of young black males, would not be welcome. It was also more convenient to locate black CCC camps where there were lots of prospective enrollees.

Each camp had one to three reserve Army officers and technical personnel responsible for work supervision, including foresters, engineers, and experienced foremen. There were also a few local experienced men (L.E.M.), usually men who previously had worked for the Forest Service.

Hiring of technical personnel was at first under political control. The Project Supervisor for each camp was selected from a list of men approved by the local congressman. These jobs were much sought after since they paid quite well for the time, $1,200 to $1,800 per year. At first some project supervisors made more money than the local district ranger to whom they reported, but salaries were evened out later on. Eventually many supervisory personnel became Forest Service employees subject to Civil Service regulations. Even in 1933 and 1934 political approval for project superintendents did not cause serious difficulties. A former Forest Supervisor on the Nantahala recalled that because so many well-qualified men were unemployed, it was not difficult to select them from the congressmen's lists. This particular Forest Supervisor also remembers little difficulty in getting political approval for his own candidates for CCC jobs if there was no one suitable on the approved list.[5]

Many of the early enrollees did not work out because of the nature of most CCC work. An early inspection report from a camp on the Pisgah National Forest reported 41 "elopements" (unauthorized departures) from the camp during the late summer and early fall of 1933. The reasons given were the isolation of the camp and the hard outdoor work, unfamiliar to the former cotton mill hands sent in the camp's first allotment of young men.[6]

By 1936 there had been a shift to enrollees more familiar with outdoor labor. A survey made in January 1937 showed about one-fifth from farms and a third from small towns (less than 2,500 population). The shift seems to have been a natural and sensible one, and in part reflects the extension of relief and other welfare programs to some rural and semi-rural areas during the New Deal. There were no relief programs in most rural counties before 1933.[7]

One Project Supervisor at a National Forest camp observed another very definite change in the enrollees during the years 1933 to 1938. He wrote that during the first 2 years of the CCC most of the enrollees he worked with were young men in their early 20's who at one time had been employed. Some of them had useful skills, such as carpentry or truck driving. He thought that these early enrollees were willing workers who had been demoralized by unemployment, but could be organized to work well without extensive training.

By 1939 the CCC camp was receiving a different type of young man.

> The majority of present day "Rookies" might be called products of the depression. From 16 to 22 years old, most of them quit school before completing the grammar grades, except for a few who attended vocational school from 1 to 3 years. Many admit they have loafed from 1 to 7 years and don't really know how to do anything.[8]

The effects of the Depression on school budgets and on the morale of young people had been devastating. For many enrollees, developing the physical strength and mental concentration necessary to do a full day's work was the most important part of their training in the CCC.

Many Enrollees Were Illiterate

For other enrollees the CCC provided an opportunity to acquire education. CCC education reports reflect serious efforts, usually successful, to teach illiterates the fundamentals of reading and arithmetic. For mountain boys especially, basic education filled a real need. One camp in Kentucky reported in 1940:

> Due to the fact that practically all men enrolled in the company from seven local surrounding counties where educational facilities are limited, a major emphasis must be placed on Literacy Education. Twenty-five men enrolled in the company during the past year had never previously attended school. Sixty others were illiterate.[9]

Teachers for those in need of basic education were sometimes provided by Works Progress Administration (WPA) funds; sometimes other enrollees served as instructors. The use of enrollees as teachers was possible because there was a wide variation in educational background among the young men. In 1939 a camp near Morehead, Ky., reported sending eight young men to Morehead State College. Four enrollees were attending the local high school.[10]

The education the boys needed was not always available. The educational advisor from another camp in Kentucky reported that 76 men in his company had completed the 8th grade but no high school instruction was available. He was tutoring 11 men whom he classed as "semi-literate."[11]

Academic classes were not the most important part of the CCC educational effort. A nationwide education report for 1937 stated that about 60 percent of the classes in CCC camps were vocational because ". . . job training and vocational courses were the most popular in the camps . . . and had the strongest holding power."[12] Only 33 percent of enrollees nationwide attended academic classes.

Work Projects Under Forest Service

The Forest Service was responsible for job training related to the work projects. The camp Project Superintendent was responsible for training in each camp. Forest Service staff, especially district rangers, were instructed to help camp supervisory personnel learn to use the education method recommended by the Forest Service. This method, generally, was to break each job into a number of simple steps and then coach the enrollees through the task step by step until they understood how to do it.[13]

A carefully prepared little pamphlet, "Woodmanship for the CCC," was printed by the Forest Service and usually issued to each enrollee.[14] It went through a number of printings and was always in demand. "Woodsmanship" explained clearly, with

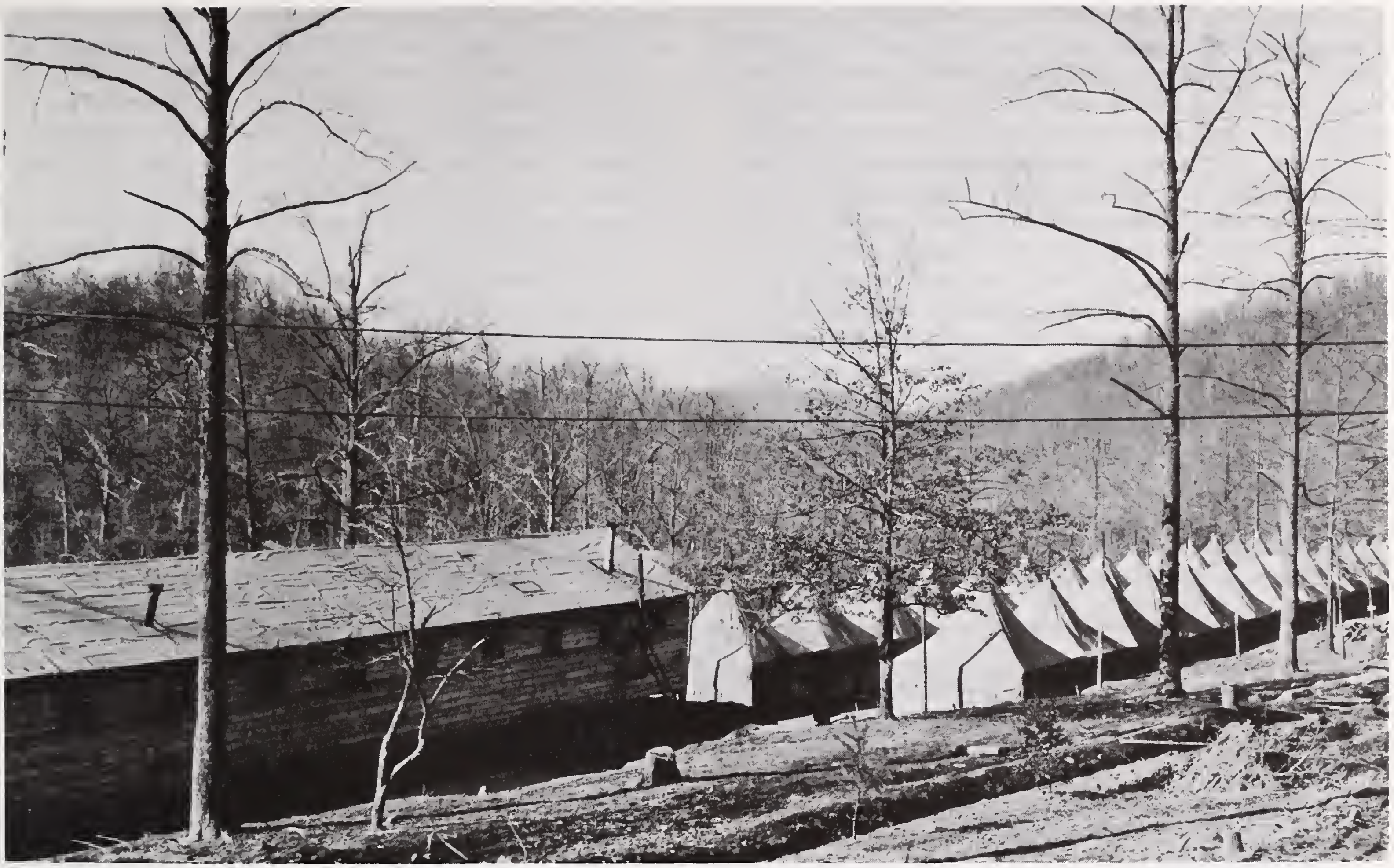

Figure 69.—Camp Woody (F[Forest Service]-1), first Civilian Conservation Corps camp in Georgia, at Suches, Chattahoochee (then Cherokee) National Forest, in 1934. (Photo courtesy of Milton M. Bryan)

many illustrations, how to use an axe or crosscut saw safely, and how to recognize potential hazards such as poison ivy. Other materials were developed to teach enrollees the basics of firefighting. Always the emphasis was on safety.

CCC boys were given some training and valuable experience as truck drivers, rough construction workers, operators of road and trail-building machines, cooks, and tool clerks. Some received special training as truck mechanics. Young men also developed leadership skills as leaders and assistant leaders of work groups. In the later years of the CCC many of the Forest Service technical personnel supervising CCC enrollees were former enrollees themselves.

A 1939 report from a camp in Tennessee listed the jobs that former enrollees reported that they had obtained as a result of training acquired in the CCC. These included filling station operator, skilled foundry worker, laborer, many truck drivers, mechanic, grocery store helper, railroad worker, sawmill hand, auto assemblyline worker, rock crusher operator, clerk in a laundry.[15] In come cases references from project supervisors helped former "Three C-ers" to get jobs by assuring prospective employers that they were honest and hard working. Job placement was important since CCC enrollees could remain in the Corps for a limited time only, 6 months to 2 years.

Pay for CCC enrollees seems very low by present-day standards—$30 per month. This limited amount would buy many necessities in the 1930's, when a loaf of bread cost 5 cents and a quarter would often buy 10 pounds of potatoes. For these young men $30 plus food, clothing, and shelter seemed a reasonable wage. Regular enrollees were given $5 per month for spending money; the remaining $25 was sent home to their families. In this way many became breadwinners for parents and younger brothers and sisters. Regular CCC enrollees at first signed up for a period of 6 months, after which they were allowed another term. Later, they were permitted to continue in the Corps for 2 years.

In addition to their wages, CCC enrollees received food, clothing and shelter at the camp.[16] Records of weekly menus indicate that the CCC boys ate well. Certainly the quantities of food were planned to satisfy appetites developed by hard outdoor labor. The quality presumably was affected by the skill of the camp cook, but since fresh fruits and vegetables, milk, and meats were purchased from local merchants and farmers, quality and variety were available. Staples such as flour and lard came from Army Quartermaster Corps.

The camps themselves were usually roughly built collections of wooden buildings, often unpainted. One building, or sometimes a series of small cabins, provided quarters for the officers in charge of the camp, for the project supervisors in charge of work, and the camp educational advisor. The largest building in a camp would be the kitchen and dining hall, with a recreation room either in the same building or nearby. The boys were housed at first in tents, then in rough wooden barracks, sometimes with bathroom facilities attached. Some camps had separate bath houses. There would usually be several sheds for trucks, road machinery, and storage. The buildings were heated in winter by wood- or coal-burning stoves. Buildings at these camps hastily constructed of green lumber in 1933 were in bad repair by 1940, but other camps were more solidly constructed, especially later buildings built by the CCC boys for their own use. Some of the more permanent camps had classroom buildings and athletic fields for leisure time activities.

Weekly Recreation Visits to Town

Most of the camps were close enough to towns to permit weekly recreation visits. Such visits were welcomed by the boys and by local merchants as well. Theater owners could count on a good audience for the motion picture when the CCC came to town. Some camps were actually located on the outskirts of small towns like Hot Springs, N.C. Other camps in the most rugged mountain districts were almost inaccessible. In 1939 an inspector noted that one camp near Laurel Springs, N.C., was 18 miles from the nearest telephone. The camp was also without telegraph or radio communication. Consequently, he recommended the construction of a telephone line to be used for fire control and to obtain assistance in emergencies.[17]

A rough idea of how many boys were affected by the CCC can be obtained from table 3, which gives some enrollment figures for 3 years and indicates as well the size of the CCC at its beginning (1934), peak enrollments at the height of the program (1937), and declining enrollments (1941). Declines were not so great for the Southern Appalachian States, especially Georgia and Kentucky, as they were in some areas of the country, but by the end of 1940 there were fewer camps and the remaining ones were below strength.[18]

Table 3.—Civilian Conservation Corps: Numbers of Residents and Nonresidents Enrolled in Camps in Each of Five Southern Appalachian States; Residents of These States Enrolled in Other Regions, 1934, 1937, 1941

State	1934	1937	1941
Kentucky			
Total residents enrolled in CCC camps (nationwide)	4,495	5,571	5,414
In Far West (beyond Great Plains)	1,068	669	587
In Appalachians	820	1,224	660
In other regions	2,607	3,698	4,167
Out-of-State residents in Kentucky Appalachian camps	0	725	740
Tennessee			
Total residents enrolled in CCC camps (nationwide)	5,779	7,649	6,831
In Far West (beyond Great Plains)	0	43	827
In Appalachians	1,086	2,282	1,994
In other regions	4,691	5,324	4,010
Out-of-State residents in Tennessee Appalachian camps	3,248	126	143
North Carolina			
Total residents enrolled in CCC camps (nationwide)	6,820	8,542	6,219
In Far West (beyong Great Plains)	0	116	118
In Appalachians	3,839	1,355	684
In other regions	2,981	7,071	5,417
Out-of-State residents in North Carolina Appalachian camps	448	1,306	561
South Carolina			
Total residents enrolled in CCC camps (nationwide)	3,802	6,258	4,466
In Far West (beyond Great Plains)	0	192	185
In Appalachians	588	603	452
In other regions	3,214	5,463	3,829
Out-of-State residents in South Carolina Appalachian camps	0	241	158
Georgia			
Total residents enrolled in CCC camps (nationwide)	6,899	6,654	6,556
In Far West (beyond Great Plains)	0	381	1,143
In Appalachians	2,359	776	565
In other regions	4,540	5,742	4,848
Out-of-State residents in Georgia Appalachian camps	184	96	124

Source: National Archives, Washington, D.C., Record Group 35, Records of the Civilian Conservation Corps, Station and Strength Reports.

Two examples serve to illustrate further the impact of the CCC on the young enrollees. In 1934 a young Tennesseean, B. W. Chumney, enrolled. He intended to go to college later, but needed a job to earn expenses. However, his temporary job became a career. He remained on the Cherokee National Forest until his retirement in 1977. For the first 7 years he was employed by the CCC, though his duties in timber management and fire control remained similar when he was shifted to regular Forest Service employment in 1941.

Chumney participated as a fire dispatcher in the application of many new firefighting techniques, from the use of radio dispatching in the 1930's to helicopters and flying water tankers in the late 1960's and early 1970's. During his career he saw the Cherokee National Forest grow from a patchwork of eroded, cutover slopes to the magnificent and valuable stands of timber that comprise much of the forest today.

The Cherokee became Chumney's hobby as well as his job. He is a recognized expert on the history of the forest and has devoted much effort to collecting information about it. A staunch believer in Forest Service management practices, Chumney has preached fire control, timber stand improvement, and careful timber cutting to his neighbors and acquaintances for more than 40 years. Practicing what he preached, he used his savings to buy timber land which he managed carefully according to the practices he learned in the Forest Service.[19]

For other young men, the CCC provided only a few months' employment in the outdoors, but often with much benefit. One case history from the "Summary of Social Values 1933-1934" tells the story of Johnny S., a North Carolina tenant farmer's son who spent 6 months in the CCC. Johnny's family lived in an isolated area. The children (Johnny was the oldest of 10) had little schooling and almost no contact with the world outside their family. Johnny learned to read and write a little at the CCC camp and developed enough skill in the woods to get a job near home when he returned.

The county welfare director concluded his report:

> Johnny has been home for some time now and all reports from him are that he "is holding his head high." He helped his father make a crop this year and received a share of it for his own. He made a great deal of money and bought a secondhand car. The neighbors say that he takes the family to church every Sunday and is now helping them to see beyond the little road that stretches in the front of their door.[20]

Johnny returned to his native area and even to his father's occupation, tenant farming, but for him, as well as for those who found new careers through the CCC, the experience provided a widening of outlook and opportunity for new skills. Johnny's brief experience away from home, according to the County Welfare director, marked the change from boy to man.

These two examples illustrate the wide variety of young men who found employment in the CCC. Anyone, from a semi-literate squatter to the Forest Supervisor himself, may have been a "Three C-er." And, most important, this shared experience helped the Forest Service for many years to build trust and friendships in the mountains. As the generation that served in the CCC retires and dies, this nostalgic common bond is being lost.

Large Camps Close to Towns Cause Some Friction

Most CCC camps sent truckloads of young men into the nearest town once or twice a week for recreation, often a visit to the local movie theatre. The boys were usually free to wander about town and spend their limited pocket money in the stores. Sometimes they attended services at local churches, though often neighboring clergymen were invited to conduct services at the camps and there were official chaplains assigned to groups of camps. After 1937, when the CCC became a more permanent organization and increased its emphasis on education, some boys attended local high schools and, in a few cases, colleges. CCC boys were also taken on recreation trips to see local landmarks, and to other camps or nearby towns to play baseball games.

The degree of social impact a camp had varied greatly from place to place. Smaller, more isolated camps might go almost unnoticed except by those who were employed there or who did business with the camp. Larger camps, and those very close to towns, made their presence felt continually, sometimes with unfavorable results for all concerned.

The most notorious case was Camp Cordell Hull, Tennessee F-5, Unicoi County.[2] This camp illustrates most of what could go wrong. In spite of the many problems, however, the camp remained in use throughout the life of the CCC, since there was much work to be done in the area. The camp also had an unlimited supply of pure drinking water (often a problem at other camps) since it was located on the site of the Johnson City waterworks. Because of its convenient location, much of the time the camp housed two companies of CCC—about 400 young men.

During the period of most serious trouble, 30 to 100 of the regularly enrolled young men were local, from Unicoi or neighboring counties. Thirteen local skilled men were employed by the Forest Service as supervisors for various projects.

A routine inspection of the camp in January 1934 reported all was well and that relations with the surrounding community were "very favorable," but as the weather improved in the spring, conditions deteriorated rapidly.

According to the military men assigned to run the camp, the locals used it as a ready-made lucrative market for prostitutes and moonshiners. The camp commander blamed lax local law enforcement for the situation and refused to cooperate with the local sheriff when he came to arrest CCC enrollees at the camp.

Local people did not want drunkenness in the camp, but at the same time turning in moonshiners was against their custom. As a former county sheriff put it:

> There is some in the [CCC] camp that sells liquor. I can throw a rock from my barn and hit one of them . . . I am personally acquainted with him, and it would hurt his feelings if I said anything about it.[22]

It would appear that the situation was also exacerbated by factionalism within the camp, for when a formal complaint was filed against the Army officers in charge, one of the complainants was the educational advisor. The complaint alleged misbehavior of the enrollees and failure of the officers to cooperate with local law enforcement officials. Other complainants were four neighboring residents and the county sheriff.

When the Army investigator from Ft. Oglethorpe, Ga., came to sort out the situation in July 1934, evidence indicated that the Army officers and the sheriff were all to blame. Testimony he collected showed that the four local residents had been enraged by the remarks yelled at local women and girls by CCC boys driving past in trucks. They also complained that CCC boys had disrupted two church services.

The county sheriff reported two serious incidents. The first resulted from a fist fight at a "wiener roast" in Unicoi. A CCC boy pulled a knife, seriously wounding a local boy. The knife-wielder was arrested, but escaped from jail and was hidden by his friends at the camp for several nights until he could arrange to get away. The local boy was believed to have started the fight.

The other was a "highway robbery" incident. A Johnson City man had picked up three CCC boys who were hitchhiking. He had a jug of whiskey which he offered to share and apparently all four had quite a bit to drink. The complaint contended that the boys then knocked him out (they said the whiskey did it) and took his car, which was hidden near the CCC camp. The CCC boys claimed that the incident, while regrettable, was really far less serious. Feeling against the sheriff was running high in the camp at that time and the camp commander refused to let him search the camp for suspects.

The CCC enrollees and their commander were angered by what they perceived as the sheriff's "double standard"—arresting them for drunkenness, but ignoring the illegal whiskey sales which caused it. The sheriff blamed moonshining on "bad times" and said wherever men congregate they will manage to get liquor; to him it was a normal occurrence.[22] The citizens also testified that there had been some troubles with local girls who hung around the camp. As one neighboring resident put it:

> It seems that all hours of the night they are out, and if I understand it right there has been quite a few girls that has happened with bad luck. That is a misfortune to our community.[24]

The people of Unicoi County seem to have been reluctant to assume responsibility for the behavior of their own citizens toward the CCC camp, expecting the Army to prevent serious trouble by disciplining the enrollees. The Army officers, on the other hand, had to try to control about 400 vigorous young men without using military discipline. It was a difficult task, certainly not made easier by the ready availability of moonshine whiskey and other distractions. It is not clear how the camp commander was to control their behavior when on leave.

Perhaps the most remarkable aspect of the whole acrimonious affair was that no one wanted the camp removed. All the complainants agreed that it was "a good thing for the county." The sheriff even protested that the camp commander had tried to get him in trouble with the local merchants by refusing to let the boys go into Erwin, the county seat. (The commander did later let local enrollees take a truck to Erwin to vote against the sheriff.) The camp was considered beneficial because of its contribution to the local economy.

Testimony also was unanimous that the Forest Service had nothing to do with the enrollees' misbehavior and was not responsible for the trouble. The complaint was entirely against the Army. The Army investigator concluded that nothing further needed to be done, since the camp commander had already been replaced, and he hoped for better relations with local citizens. No further serious disturbances were reported from Camp Cordell Hull. The personnel changes and increased efforts to keep the boys busy after working hours helped to improve community relations.

Although the Forest Service was not held responsible for the CCC's drinking problem in this case, it appears certain that a few temporary local employees who could not resist the chance for easy money in the bad times were often directly involved in moonshine distribution. In many camps the whiskey was covertly brought in by local experienced men (L.E.M.) or technicians. District rangers tried to eliminate men who were habitually drunk or who sold liquor to the enrollees. As the Supervisor of the Cherokee pointed out to a trail building foreman he had been forced to fire:

> Regardless of the excellent caliber of an employee's services, the Forest Service cannot condone drinking by its employees on the job and at CCC camps. Instructions have been repeatedly issued to all employees cautioning him in this respect.[25]

Even firing a local foreman who peddled moonshine on the side was not as simple an issue as it might seem. The Forest Service was committed to doing its best to relieve unemployment in the mountain counties. Forest supervisors and district rangers were very anxious not to have "outside" CCC enrollees push local men and boys out of the available jobs on the forests. If a man was fired, often he could not find a job. Many local men had been employed by the Forest Service before CCC was established and firing them gave the impression that they were being pushed out of work by the CCC.[26]

Though for obvious reasons documentation of the practice does not exist, conversations with former district rangers and indirect evidence suggest that illegal stills were frequently overlooked as long as they did not cause fires and the owner did not harvest timber illegally to fuel his still. Such tolerance would maintain local goodwill and prevent trouble. Moonshiners may have been surprised by the ban on sales to CCC men.

Enrolling and employing local men contributed directly to the drinking problem. The more local men there were in a CCC company, the more connections they had to obtain moonshine. One company commander in Kentucky noted in 1935 that some men had to be discharged and others disciplined for over-indulgence.[27]

Both drinkers and sellers became angry about efforts to control the use of liquor. Moonshiners saw the CCC camps as one of the best places to get hard cash for their product, though both the Army and the Forest Service tried to discourage them. According to one report, when a camp first opened at Pine Ridge, Ky.:

> . . . the Moonshiners used to come on pay day and ask the camp commander to collect their booze bills for them. When they were ordered off the grounds they got sore on everybody.[28]

While the liquor problem never disappeared entirely, it did become less serious in the later years of the CCC.

In the early years of the CCC, the Forest Service was troubled by the requirement that they release even the most satisfactory of the local experienced men after only 6 to 12 months of employment. Supervisory personnel were not subject to these time limitations, and this caused resentment. In 1935 the Forest Service secured the approval of the Director of Emergency Conservation Work to keep the L.E.M.'s employed indefinitely where they were needed. It had been pointed out that many of the L.E.M.'s were former part-time Forest Service employees who had depended for work on the forest for years.[29]

Best Enrollees Get Forest Service Jobs

The Forest Service was able to arrange regular jobs for outstanding enrollees as well. A 1937 report on jobs for former CCC enrollees stated that the largest number had found jobs as machine operators or truck drivers; the second largest category of regular employment was with the Forest Service. In January 1937 the Forest Service reported that a Civil Service position, that of junior assistant to technician, had been created just for the CCC boys. Those who placed highest in the exam filled the available positions.[30] The agency was able to reward the most competent and interested CCC boys with permanent good jobs. The promise of more permanent jobs for their young men greatly helped to build local support as well as high morale in the camps.

Another way in which the CCC sought to create good feelings among its neighbors was by various kinds of festivities held to celebrate the "birthday" of the CCC in April of each year. There was even competition to see which camp could hold the most original party. They often included a picnic, open house, tours of work projects, and entertainment by enrollees. Some camps used these parties to preach the message of fire control, since the CCC camps were heavily involved in firefighting. Other camps used the parties as recruiting devices, seeking to convince young men visiting the camp to join the CCC. The parties were well publicized locally.

At one such party, the "CCC Fox Chase and Barbecue" at the 200-man Camp Old Hickory, near Benton, Tenn., on April 5, 1938, 1,500 people from Reliance, Archville, Greasy Creek Caney Creek, Etowah, and Cleveland joined the families of Cherokee National Forest personnel to feast on barbecued beef and pork, with trimmings. A foxhound show judged by a prominent citizen drew 68 mixed entrants, but a planned fox chase was cancelled for lack of a fox.[31]

In 1938 Camp Old Hickory had been in existence for 5 years and local residents were thinking of it as a permanent fixture. They were certainly familiar with the work it had done. If a family from a neighboring town decided to picnic in the Forest, they would drive on a stretch of road built by the CCC, and use the rest rooms and picnic tables built by the CCC as well. The caretaker at the picnic ground would be a trained CCC enrollee. If a farmer adjacent to the Forest started a fire to burn brush, it would be reported by a CCC youth manning a fire tower. If the fire threatened to spread into the Forest, it would be extinguished by a CCC crew trained in fighting forest fires. And if the farmer had misjudged the wind, and the fire began moving toward his house or barn, he could call for help from the CCC fire crew.[32]

Major Work Is in Fire Control, Road, Trails, Campgrounds

Much of the work of the Civilian Conservation Corps was related, directly or indirectly, to the control of forest fires in the mountains.[33] Ever since the first land acquisition in 1912, the Forest Service had been convinced that control of fires was essential to the improvement of the forests. This was contrary to local practices of burning to remove debris, encourage forage growth or kill insects and snakes. Though much of this deliberate burning had been stopped as a result of Forest Service educational efforts, mountain people were often careless with fire when they burned brush on their own land. Hunters, fishermen, and campers sometimes failed to put out their fires. Finally, arson as a form of malicious mischief or to get work was popular in some mountain areas.[34]

The existence of the CCC gave the Forest Service a pool of manpower that could be trained to fight fires and was quickly available when fire broke out. The final report prepared when the CCC was disbanded concluded that "During the nine and one quarter years of the Corps, CCC enrollees became the first line of fire defense."[35] All were given basic firefighting instructions and indoctrinated in the Forest Service dictum that fires should be prevented.

CCC youths built fire observation towers and manned them during the months of high fire danger. The towers, located high in the mountains in carefully chosen locations, made it possible to spot fires quickly and send in a fire suppression crew before they became large enough to cause serious destruction. Such towers were used until the mid-1960's when most of them were replaced by light patrol planes.

Fire towers had telephone and, later, radio connections to district ranger offices to report fires. The construction of telephone lines was another important CCC task. The telephone lines not only made reporting fires quicker, they also made possible the rapid assembly of firefighting crews where needed. Forest Service telephones were also available for use by local people in emergencies. This was much appreciated in areas where few people had private telephones. In some areas lines for private telephones were installed on the telephone poles put up by the CCC for Forest Service lines.

One of the biggest jobs undertaken by the CCC in the Southern Appalachian forests was road and trail construction. The enrollees built high-quality roads in some areas to open up the forest for timber harvesting or recreation, but many of the roads they built were of the type known as truck trails or "fire roads." These single-lane dirt roads could serve as firebreaks, but more important, they made it possible to bring truckloads of men and equipment quickly to the site of a forest fire. With the modern advent of new fire-control techniques, many of the old "fire roads" have been abandoned and others have not been maintained for lack of funds, but for 40 years the truck trails built by the CCC were a vital element in forest fire protection.

Because funds for road building had always been scarce in the mountain counties, the CCC roads were often an important benefit to small local communities and to isolated farmers. In Harlan County, Ky.:

> The CCC built the road from Putney to the Pine Mountain Settlement School, primarily, of course, for fire protection. Its construction has resulted in rather heavy traffic consisting mostly of forest products finding their way to market. Before this road was built there was no means of getting out to the railroad. The School has been considerably enlarged and improved.[36]

By this time, 1941, the market for timber had recovered, and local residents in areas newly opened up by transportation improvement could get a good price for forest products.

Many Recreation Facilities Built

Although it was not their original purpose, the "fire roads" did much to open up the forests to recreational use by hunters and hikers who still gratefully use them today. The development, especially after World War II, of four-wheel-drive vehicles such as jeeps made these trails even more popular. CCC men also built trails for hiking, especially short ones to spots of particular natural beauty of interest, often providing bridges and steps for visitors also.

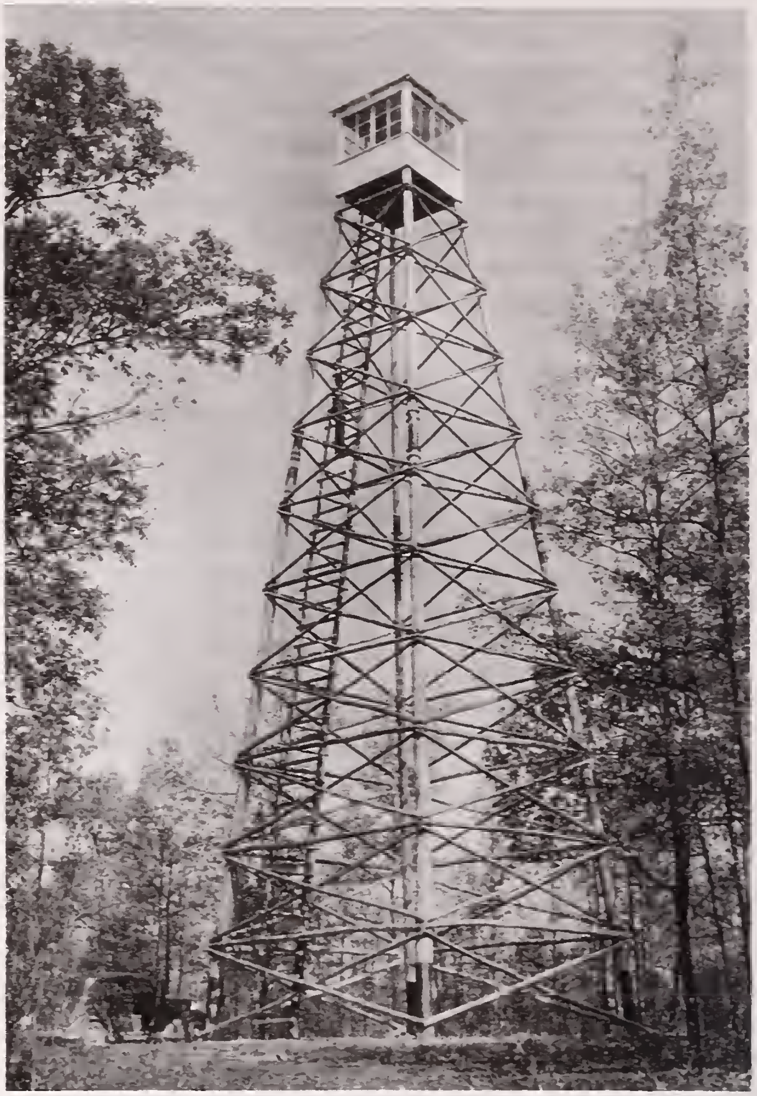

Figure 70.—Beulah Heights fire tower, a temporary structure of southern yellow pine with a 7- x 7-foot cabin, built by Civilian Conservation Corps enrollees. Daniel Boone (then Cumberland) National Forest, Ky., shown in April 1938. (National Archives: Record Group 95G-365411)

Valuable work was done by the CCC on the famous Appalachian Trail, the Maine-to-Georgia trail which follows the crest of the Appalachian Range. In the Pisgah National Forest about 60 miles of the trail were maintained by the CCC from 1933 to 1942. One section, from Hot Springs to Waterville, N.C., was relocated and 26.2 miles of new trail built. In the Chattahoochee National Forest about 100 miles of the trail were maintained, a new shelter was built, and a spring was improved. The CCC maintained 93.4 miles of Appalachian Trail in the Cherokee National Forest and constructed several new shelters for camping along the Trail.[37]

Since road building and automobile ownership were making the forests more accessible for recreation, the Forest Service put some of the CCC boys to work building campgrounds. A campground might include shelters, toilet facilities, picnic tables, fireplaces, parking lots, and water supply systems. The CCC also built and erected signs to direct visitors to the facilities and to points of interest. Bathhouses were built at

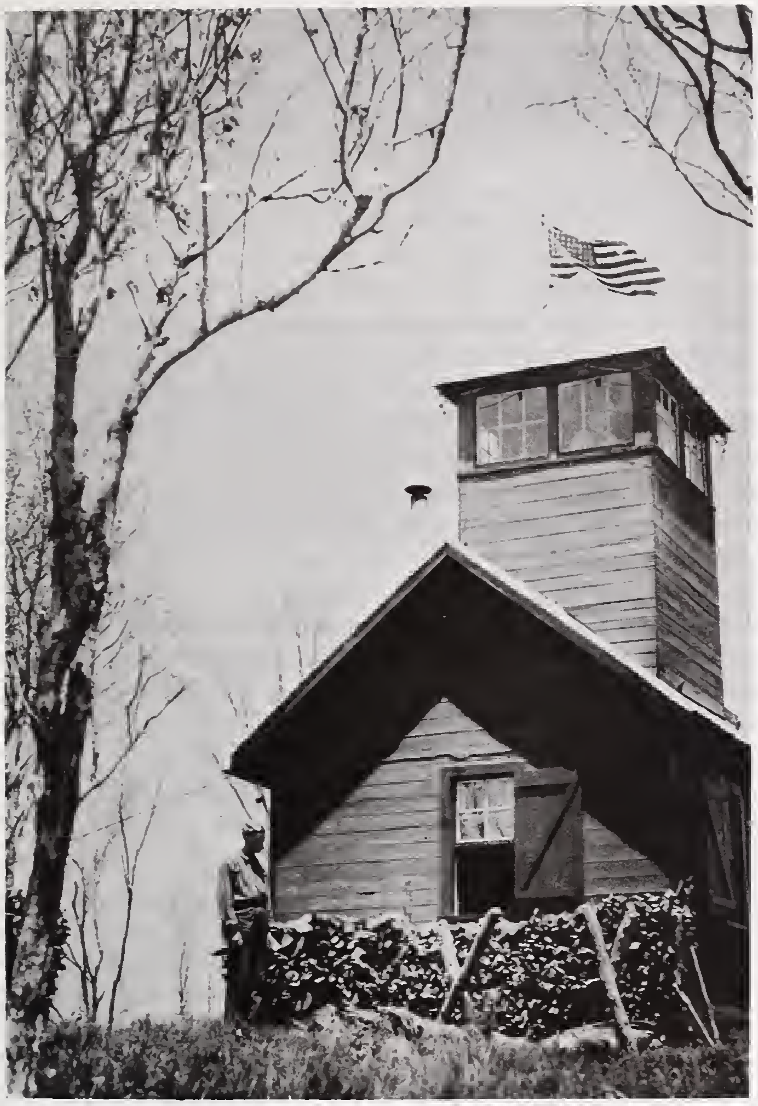

Figure 71.—Hayes Lookout, Nantahala National Forest, N.C., a low wooden enclosed structure with a 6- x 6-foot cabin, built by Civilian Conservation Corps enrollees in 1939. (NA:95G-396050)

Figure 72.—A Civilian Conservation Corps enrollee tempering a pick head in an open forge at Lost Creek CCC Camp (F-26), near Norton, Va., in Clinch Ranger District, Jefferson National Forest, in June 1938. (NA:95G-367179)

some good swimming areas. The first caretakers and lifeguards for the facilities came from the CCC ranks.

In the newly purchased areas of the forests another CCC task was razing "undesirable structures," the cabins and outbuildings left behind by former owners or occupants, to prevent their use by squatters. In some cases windows and roofs were removed and the uninhabitable cabin was left to decay slowly. In later years only a few foundation stones and the base of a chimney remained to mark the site of a former mountain home.

The CCC was often referred to by the press as "Roosevelt's Tree Army." Tree planting was a much-publicized CCC activity. In the Southern Appalachian most of the tree planting was done by the TVA camps to control erosion and to beautify the margins of the lakes created by damming the rivers. The CCC planted seedling trees raised in TVA nurseries on private land if the owner promised to maintain and protect the infant forest. As woodlands planted by the CCC began to grow successfully, they gave needed encouragement to the TVA forestry program by showing that reforestation could work.[38]

There was no extensive planting of young trees in the National Forests of the Southern Appalachians. In most cases natural reproduction encouraged by the heavy rainfall could be relied upon to restock cutover lands within forests.[39] CCC crews did much timber stand improvement work, removing diseased or damaged trees and less valuable species to give more room for the development of desirable timber. Such work often greatly enhanced the value of a stand of trees, increasing the quantity and improving the quality of saleable timber. CCC boys helped combat deadly tree diseases, notably white pine blister rust. The crews learned to recognize and destroy the currant and gooseberry bushes which serve as an alternate host for the blister rust fungus. They also helped fight the bark beetle infestations which often severely damaged timber in the forests.

Federal administrators who placed emphasis on the educational role of the CCC sometimes argued that too much time was spent working.[40] Would it not be better for illiterates to spend more time learning to read? Whey should classes be confined to evening hours when the boys were often tired and ready to relax? The CCC position varied but work generally was considered by most important part of education for the CCC enrollee. "Book learning" definitely took second place.

Benefits to Local Areas

Throughout the life of the CCC, there was continual debate about the quantity and quality of work accomplished.[41] Since CCC enrollees had to be trained for the work they performed, they naturally accomplished less than would a crew of already skilled laborers. Some Forest Service employees, especially project superintendents, argued that it would have been better to use the money spent on the CCC to employ local skilled workers to do the jobs performed by the CCC on the forests. In spite of efforts to employ as many local people as possible through the CCC, there was always some feeling that the CCC took jobs away from them. In truth, there is some doubt whether the Forest Service, Park Service, TVA, SCS, or State agencies that employed the CCC would have been able to get funds to have the same work performed by ordinary wage labor. CCC labor was cheap, even though the boys might not accomplish as much as skilled workmen.

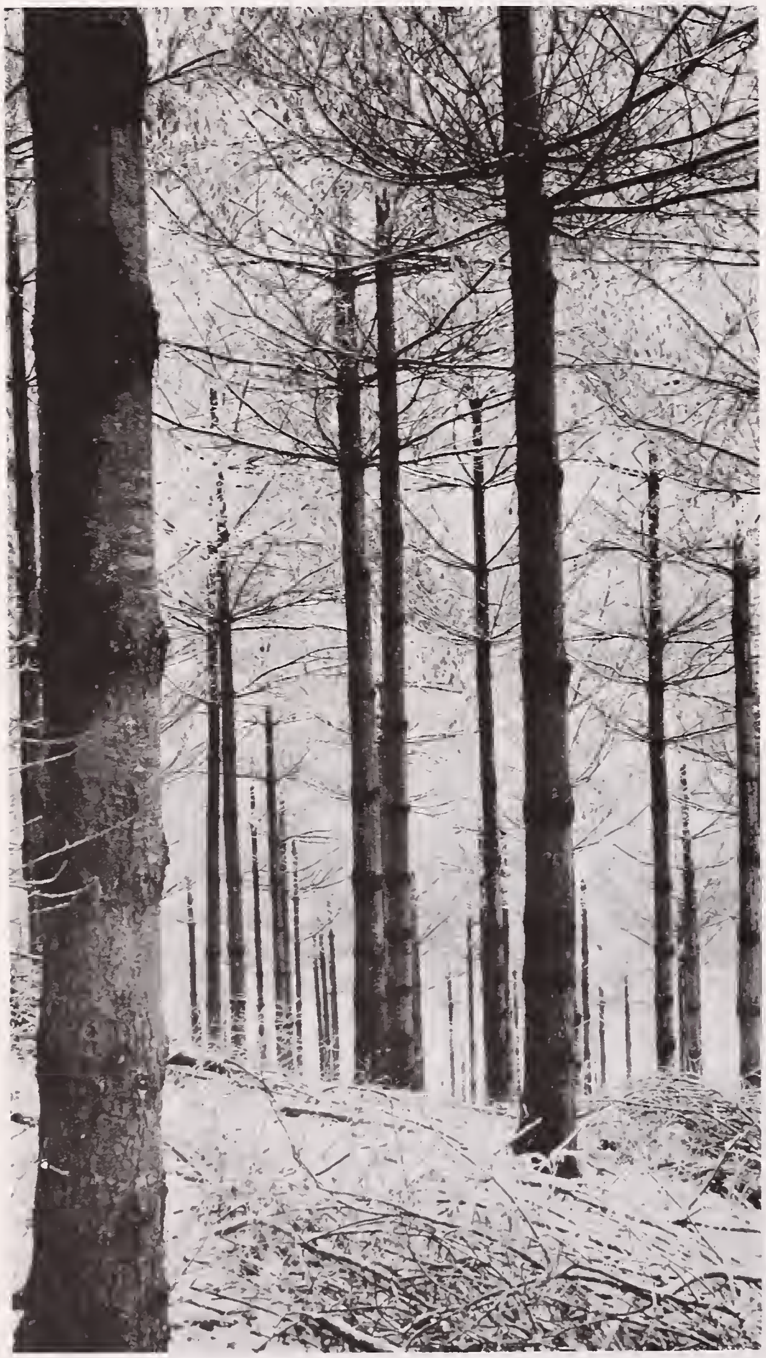

Figure 73—A 26-year-old white pine plantation thinned and pruned the previous summer by Civilian Conservation Corps enrollees to encourage fast quality timber growth. Nantahala National Forest, N.C., in 1940. (NA:95G-396044)

The quality of work done by the CCC naturally varied from site to site; much depended on the vigilance and skill of the project superintendent. There were cases of loafing and of slovenly work performance, but these were balanced by examples of hard work resulting in well-built trails and buildings. The Forest Service and other "employing agencies" tried to encourage the enrollment of young men who would make good workers. They sometimes accused the local welfare and employment offices of enrolling the "worst first," because these young men appeared to be more in need of help. Many young men who enrolled in the CCC required job training and had little or no work experience. However, most of them learned the skills they needed and became good workers. Others left. Efforts were made to reward those who worked well with promotion to crew leader or to skilled jobs. Where there were large numbers of repeat enrollments, work output tended to improve because less training was required.

One advantage that the CCC had over many New Deal "make-work" projects was the the work was "real." Good project superintendents and district rangers made sure that the enrollees were told why the project they were working on was necessary. For example, they were shown how their particular truck trail or telephone line fitted into the plan for fire control in the district.

Although the CCC presence in the Southern Appalachians was sometimes disruptive, on the whole the program brought the mountains multiple benefits. The CCC employed thousands of local men, providing wages, education, and a sense of accomplishment. Thus, perhaps more than any other New Deal program, the CCC contributed much to human dignity in a time of dire economic need.

In addition, the CCC altered the landscape of the Southern Appalachian forests and parks. The fire towers, trails, roads, and campgrounds it built and the trees it planted, thinned, and protected were improvements that controlled fire, enhanced the forests' beauty, and made the mountains more accessible.

The overall impact of CCC camps on local communities, society, and culture can best be evaluated by a comparison. Even before the turn of the century mountain communities had been influenced by the temporary presence of logging or construction camps. Thus, adaptation to the presence of camps similar to those established by the CCC was not new. Railroad building, logging, and mining all brought large groups of "foreigners," chiefly young males, into the mountains. The impact of these groups on mountain culture and society was chiefly economic and often temporary. These is no evidence that the impact of CCC camps was any greater, or more lasting, but the program did ease conditions at a very critical time.

Reference Notes

(In the following notes, the expression "NA, RG 35" means National Archives, Record Group 35, Records of the Civilian Conservation Corps; "NA, RG 95, CCC" means National Archives, Record Group 95, Records of the Forest Service (USDA) Records Relating to Civilian Conservation Corps Work, 1933-42. See Bibliography, IX.)

1. Wayne D. Rasmussen and Gladys L. Baker, *The Department of Agriculture* (New York and Washington: Praeger Publishers, 1972), 34, 35; 89-91.

2. NA, RG 95, CCC, General Correspondence, Information, Emergency Conservation Work, *What ABout the C.C.C.?*, 1937, 1933-42, Information, Records of CCC Work. The CCC newspaper *Happy Days* is another source of stories about CCC, though few of these pertain to the region under discussion here.

3. Camp Roosevelt, near Luray, Va., in the George Washington National Forest, 120 miles from Washington, D.C.

4. The following account of the CCC is based on information in Record Group 35, National Archives. Investigation Reports and Education Reports for camps in the National Forests were used, and specific citations are given where necessary. John Salmond, *The Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933-42: A New Deal Case Study* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1967), Chapter 5, "The Selection of Negroes." Black camps were not welcome in most areas of the country and were limited in number, mostly in the Deep South.

5. Interview with B.W. Chumney, July 18, 1979, Cleveland, Tenn.; Interview with J. Herbert Stone.

6. NA, RG 35, Investigation Reports, Neill McL. Coney, Jr., special investigator, Report on [CCC camp] N.C.F-5, Mortimer, N.C., Nov. 12, 1933.

7. NA, RG 35, Investigation Reports, Education, June 30, 1937. "Federal Aid for Unemployment Relief," Hearings Before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Manufactures, U.S. Senate, 72nd Congress, 1st Session, on S 174 and S 262 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1932).

8. James R. Wilkins, "The Charges We Watch," *Service Bulletin* 23: 7 (April 3, 1939). (USDA, Forest Service, Washington, D.C.)

9. NA, RG 35, Investigation Reports, Education, Elbert Johns, Camp Kentucky F-13, McKee [Jackson County], Ky., Jan. 30, 1941.

10. NA, RG 35, Investigation Reports, Education, Earl C. May, Camp Kentucky F-4, Clearfield, Ky. March 11, 1939.

11. NA, RG 35, Investigation Reports, Education, Carl G. Campbell, Camp Kentucky F-9, Stanton, Ky. Oct. 21, 1941.

12. NA, RG 35, Report of Director of CCC Camp Education for year ending June 30, 1937.

13. NA, RG 95, CCC, CCC Personnel (Training).

14. NA, RG 35, CCC, USDA, Forest Service, "Woodmanship for the CCC," Washington, 1934, subsequent editions to 1940.

15. NA, RG 95, CCC, CCC Personnel (Training), Monthly Education Reports 1939, Camp Old Hickory, Tenn.

16. Menu and building descriptions are taken from Inspection Reports cited earlier.

17. NA, RG 35, Inspection Reports, Neill McL. Coney, Jr. to Assistant Director, CCC, Oct. 2, 1937, North Carolina F-7; Neill McL. Coney Jr. to Assistant Director, CCC, April 7, 1939, North Carolina NP-21.

18. NA, RG 35, CCC Station and Strength Reports 1933-42. The records of the following CCC camps were examined for this study:
Kentucky: Camp Lochege, F-4, Morehead, Rowan County; Camp Woodpecker, F-9, Stanton, Powell County; (No name), F-13, McKee, Jackson County; Camp Bell Farm, F-14, Bell Farm, McCreary County; and Camp Bald Rock, F-15, London, Laurel County, all in Cumberland (now called Daniel Boone) National Forest: Camp Elkhorn, S-82, Hellier, Letcher County (Flat Woods area), and (No name), S-84, Crummies (Harlan County Game Refuge), both State camps; also several Tennessee Valley Authority camps.
Tennessee: Camp Old Hickory, F-3, Archville (Benton), Polk County; Camp Cordell Hull, F-5, Unicoi, Unicoi County; Camp Evan Shelby, F-11, Bristol, Sullivan County; and Camp Turkey Creek, F-17, Tellico Plains, Monroe County, all in Cherokee National Forest; also several TVA camps.
North Carolina: Camp Grandfather Mountain, F-5, Mortimer (Edgemont), Avery-Caldwell County; Camp Alex Jones, F-7, Hot Springs, Madison County; and Camp John Rock, F-28, Brevard, Transylvania County, all in Pisgah National Forest; Camp Coweeta, F-23, Otto, Macon County; and Camp Santeetlah, F-24, Robbinsville, Graham County, both in Nantahala National Forest; and Camp Meadow Fork, NP-21, Laurel Springs, Alleghany-Ashe County, Blue Ridge Parkway.
Georgia: Camp Woody, F-1, Suches, Union County; Camp Crawford W. Long, F-7, Chatsworth, Murray County; Camp Lake Rabun, F-9, Lakemont, Rabun County; and Camp Pocket Bowl, F-16, La Fayette, Walker County, all now in Chattahoochee National Forest. (At the time, F-9 was in Nantahala, and F-1 and F-7 were in Cherokee National Forest.)
South Carolina: Camp Ellison D. Smith, F-1, Mounain Rest, Oconee County, then in Nantahala National Forest, now in Sumter National Forest.
(In this list, F stands for National Forest, NP stands for National Park, and S for State-operated camps.)

19. Interview with B.W. Chumney, July 19, 1979, Cleveland, Tenn. "Forest Fire Fighter" *Cleveland Banner,* Cleveland, Tenn., March 30, 1978.

20. NA, RG 35, 1933-1934, Appendix D—Case Histories, North Carolina, "Summary of Social Values."

21. NA, RG 35, Investigation Reports, Tennessee F-5, Unicoi, Tenn.

22. NA, RG 35, Investigation Reports, Tennessee F-5, Testimony of George W. Buckner, July 29, 1934.

23. NA, RG 35, Investigation Reports, Tennessee F-5, Testimony of Sheriff M. F. Parsley, Erwin, Tenn. July 29, 1934.

24. NA, RG 35, Investigation Reports, Tennessee F-5, Testimony of Alf T. Snead, Limestone Cove, Tenn. July 29, 1934.

25. NA, RG 95, CCC, Donald E. Clark, Forest Supervisor, to W.M. Felker, November 24, 1934, Camp Old Hickory, Tenn.

26. NA, RG 95, CCC, General Integrating Inspection Report, Region 8, 1937.

27. NA, RG 35, Investigation Reports, Kentucky, F-9, Stanton, Ky., C.H. Mackelfresh to T.J. McVey, Sept. 17, 1935.

28. NA, RG 35, Investigation Reports, Kentucky. T.J. McVey to J.J. McEntee, Sept. 17, 1935.

29. NA, RG 95, CCC, Memorandum for Hiwasee Project Superintendents from J.W. Cooper, Sept. 14, 1935, Camp Old Hickory, Tenn.

30. NA, RG 95, CCC, News Release, March 6, 1937, Information, General 1933-42; Circular letter from A.W. Hartman, CCC Regional Office, Dec. 2, 1937, CCC Personnel (Training), Camp Old Hickory, Tenn.

31. NA, RG 95, CCC. This account of the "Fox Chase and Barbecue," April 5, 1938, is taken from local newspaper accounts found in the CCC Personnel Training file, Camp Old Hickory, Tenn.

32. NA, RG 95, CCC, Memo to District Rangers from Forest Supervisor, Cherokee National Forest, June 9, 1938, National Forest Development and Protection; Fire Reports to Forest Supervisor, Cherokee N.F., 1935; CCC Inspection Reports, 1933-42, Camp Old Hickory, Tenn.

33. The following acount of work performed by the CCC is derived from records cited in notes 4 and 32.

34. John Salmond, *The Civilian Conservation Corps 1933-1942,* pp. 121-125; Michael Frome, *The Forest Service,* p. 20; Ignatz Pikl, Jr., *History of Georgia Forestry,* pp. 19, 28, 33. Summaries of work performed in the individual camps are found in the Inspection Reports cited earlier.

35. NA, RG 35, "CCC in Emergencies."

36. NA, RG 95, CCC, Information, General, K.G. McConnell to G.T. Backus, In Charge, State CCC, May 23, 1941.

37. NA, RG 95, CCC, Information, Special, H.E. Ochsner, Forest Supervisor, Pisgah, Memo for Regional Forester, May 24, 1938. W.H. Fischer, Forest Supervisor, Chattahoochee, Memo for Regional Forester, March 16, 1938; P.F.W. Prater, Forest Supervisor, Cherokee, Memo for Regional Forester, May 13, 1938.

38. Marguerite Owen, *The Tennessee Valley Authority* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1973), pp. 30-33.

39. NA, RG 95, CCC, Personnel (Training), P.F.W. Prater—Forest Supervisor, Cherokee National Forest, Memo on ECW Education (Conseration), April 27, 1937, CCC Çamp Old Hickory, Tenn.

40. John Salmond, *The Civilian Conservation Corps,* pp. 47-54 and 162-168.

41. The following discussion of the CCC's accomplishments is based on the surviving records of the camps listed in table 3.

Chapter V

Great Smoky Mountains National Park and the Blue Ridge Parkway

The New Deal decade of the 1930's introduced the Southern Appalachians to yet another Federal agency interested in land acquisition: the National Park Service. Compared to the Forest Service, the Park Service presence in the region is minor; yet it has engendered considerable public awareness and controversy. Although the Park Service operates several small parks, monuments, and historic sites in the Southern Appalachians, its presence is most visible in the Great Smoky Mountains National Park and the Blue Ridge Parkway.[1] The creation of both parks, which occurred between 1928 and 1940, differed considerably from the creation of the area's National Forests.

The National Park Service was established in August 1916, as a result of a conservation campaign similar to the one leading to the Weeks Act several years earlier. Since the creation of Yellowstone Park in 1872, 13 National Parks had been created from the lands of the public domain. These had been under the jurisdiction of the General Land Office of the Department of the Interior, but some, like Yellowstone, had been supervised by the Army and others scarcely managed at all. Under the chief sponsorship of the American Civic Association, conservationists, civic groups, and legislators nationwide rallied behind the idea of scenic preservation, and promoted a separate agency to manage the parks on an active basis.[2]

The purposes of National Parks differ from those of National Forests (originally called forest reserves). The principal difference is that the parks stress preservation and the forests stress "wise use" of their natural resources. National Parks are areas of special national significance; many exhibit unusual natural scenic grandeur. The Act of 1916 which organized them under a National Park Service states that they were created "to conserve the scenery and the natural and historic objects and the wild life therein and to provide for the enjoyment of the same in such manner and by such means as will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations."[3] In a National Park the forest is left essentially as it is; if trees mature, they are not harvested; if they fall, they are left to rot.[4] No timber harvesting, grazing by domestic livestock, mining, or hunting is allowed in National Parks, but fishing may be permitted, and individual dead trees that pose a hazard may be removed.

The National Forests, as is explained in Chapter VIII, are and have long been managed for a variety of public uses and needs. The so-called Organic Administration Act of 1897 provided for protection and management of the forests to insure favorable water flow and a continuous supply of timber for the needs of the Nation. In 1905 Secretary of Agriculture James Wilson emphasized that "all the resources . . . are for use" and directed the Forest Service to manage the forests so "that the water, wood, and forage . . . are conserved and wisely used . . . [for] the greatest good to the greatest number in the long run."[5] The first major uses of the forests were providing wood for local settlers and industries, and forage for grazing of local domestic livestock. Before long it was recognized that the forests were also important for public recreation activities and as habitat for diverse forms of desirable wildlife. Later on the Forest Service pioneered in setting aside special areas as wilderness. The principle of multiple uses, begun under Gifford Pinchot, first Chief of the Forest Service, thus developed. It is explained in detail in Chapter VIII.

Although certain land-management goals of National Parks and National Forests are somewhat similar—such as encouraging visitors and providing some facilities for them, encouraging and protecting wildlife, controlling dangerous fires, and preserving wilderness—the two agencies do have basic differences that can result in conflict at times.

The Forest Service and National Park Service have often been competitive. Their rivalry dates from Pinchot's successful negotiations for transfer of the forest reserves from Interior to Agriculture in 1905. The Forest Service opposed the creation of the National Park Service in 1916, believing that a separate agency was not needed to manage the country's most outstanding scenic areas, that the Forest Service could do the job just as well. Many such areas have been transferred from the Forest Service to the Park Service. A few National Monuments are still supervised by the Forest Service. Rivalry between the two services has continued to the present, rising in intensity during years when a merger of the two services or a large land transfer is proposed.[6]

The land acquisition policies of the two agencies differ as well. Units of the National Park System are created by individual acts of Congress; there is no legislation comparable to the Weeks Act authorizing general, ongoing land acquisition for the National Park System. In addition, until the 1960's, National Parks that had not been set aside from the public domain were acquired by State, local, or private agencies, and title was subsequently transferred to the United States. Thus, the lands for the Great Smoky Mountains National Park were purchased by specially formed park commissions in Tennessee and North Carolina; lands for the Blue Ridge Parkway were purchased by the States of North Carolina and Virginia. Some lands for the Parkway were transferred from the Forest Service.

Most important, eastern National Parks have been created through the power of eminent domain; unwilling sellers have had their lands condemned. In contrast, eastern National Forests have been created only with "willing buyer-willing seller" acquisitions. Since a National Forest is a multipurpose area to be used by man, taking all the land within a given forest boundary has not been considered necessary. A National Park, as an area of scenic preservation, usually must be wholly controlled to be preserved. Thus, acquisition of land for a park usually erases human enterprise and culture from the landscape.

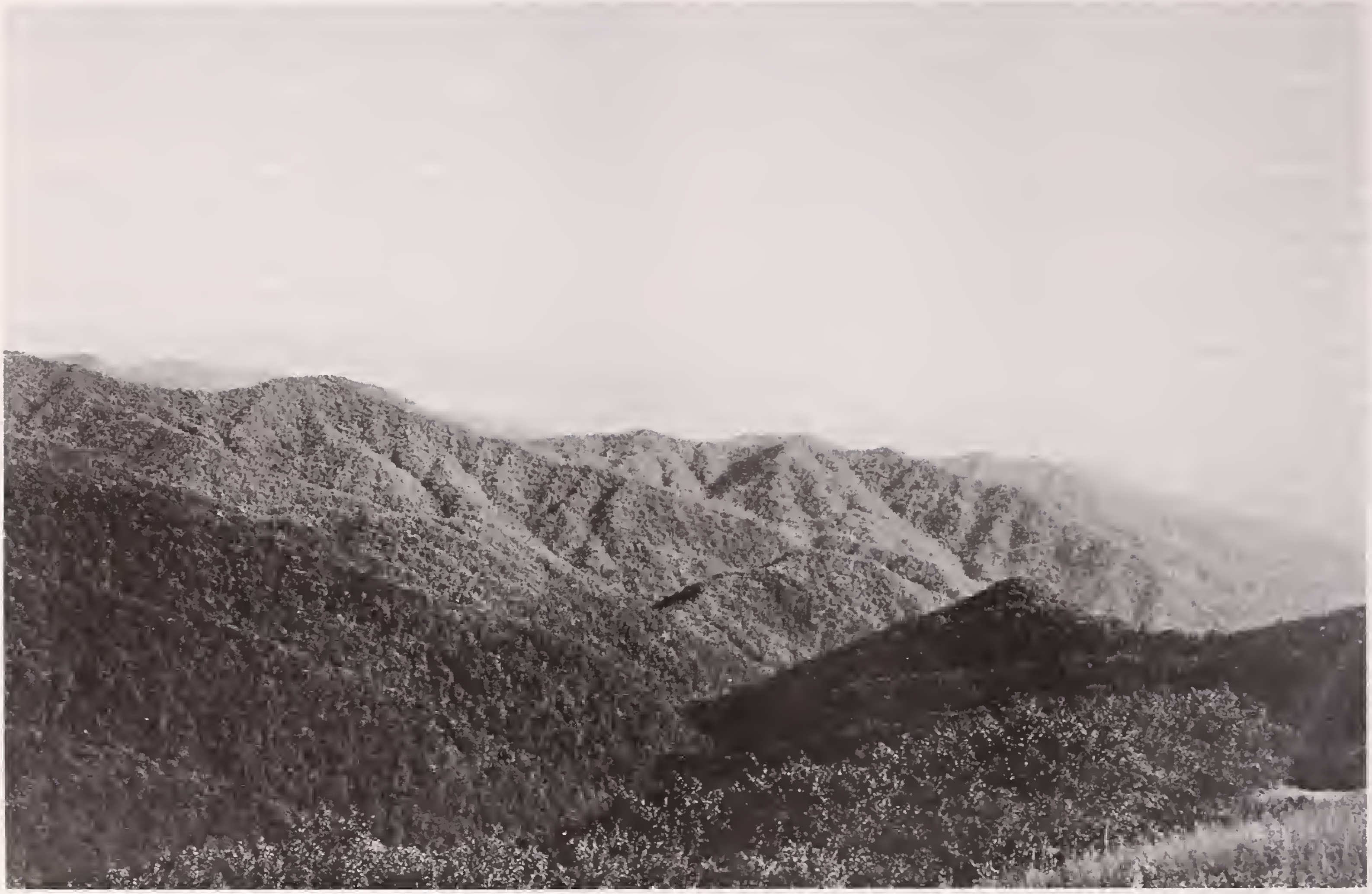

Figure 74.—Great Smoky Mountains National Park, view from State Line Trail looking down Forney Creek watershed southeastward toward Little Tennessee River, in 1931. (National Archives: Record Group 95G-259049)

Origins of Great Smoky Mountains National Park

After lying dormant for almost 20 years, the movement for a National Park in the Southern Appalachians came to life again during the winter of 1923-24. Since becoming first director of the National Park Service, Stephen T. Mather had favored an eastern park; for several years the Service had been considering possible sites. At a dinner at the prestigious Cosmos Club in Washington in December 1923, Mather, Congressman Zebulon Weaver of Asheville, and others resolved to press for a park in the Southern Appalachian region. In 1924, the Secretary of the Interior appointed a special Southern Appalachian National Park Committee to study potential sites.[7]

At the same time, pro-park groups were coalescing in the region itself. In Knoxville, Tenn., Willis Davis, manager of the Knoxville Iron Co., along with a small group of businessmen and attorneys, formed the Great Smoky Mountains Conservation Association for the purpose of raising interest in, and money for, a National Park and a road through the Smokies. Meanwhile, a group of North Carolina citizens reactivated interest in a Southern Appalachian park. In 1924, the State legislature created the North Carolina Park Commission for the purpose of securing a National Park in North Carolina. At first the North Carolina group preferred the site of Grandfather Mountain and Linville Gorge; however, after the national committee recommended the Blue Ridge Mountains of Virginia and the Great Smokies as the best sites for Appalachian parks, the North Carolina Park Commission shifted its focus to the Smokies.

The national committee was convinced of the suitability of the Smokies as a location for a National Park not only on account of its scenery but also its forests: "The Great Smokies easily stand first [in park sites] because of the height of mountains, depth of valleys, ruggedness of the area, and the *unexampled variety* of trees, shrubs, and plants."[8] It was the largest area of original forest remaining in the eastern United States.[9] Indeed, the "unexampled" tree cover had made the Smokies a loggers' paradise. Timber companies had been operating in the mountains for 30 years; in 1925, fully 85 percent of the area was timber company-owned. Although much of the land had been clearcut or culled, the steepness and remoteness of the area had delayed extensive logging in places; at mid-decade about one-third of the Smokies was judged to be still primeval forest.

Preservation of this unique forest was the goal around which an intense campaign began in 1925 in both Tennessee and North Carolina. In 1925 there was no Federal authority to purchase land for a National Park, as there was for a National Forest. Thus, wrote Mather, "the only practicable way National Park areas can be acquired would be donations of land from funds privately donated.[10] Each State set out to raise at least $500,000 toward initial land acquisition. Donations were sought from all levels of society, across both States. An earnest newspaper campaign began urging the importance of the Great Smoky Park. The appeals were to both esthetics and economics: preservation of the forest from inevitable destruction by the timber companies was urged; at the same time, the economic rewards of tourism to the area were assured. The park promised to be a tremendous boon to the mountain region, in the cash it would bring to businesses, in the employment it would offer, in the population increase the area would experience.[11]

Opposition to the creation of a National Park in the Great Smoky Mountains was vehemently expressed by a majority of the area's lumber companies. Indeed, the idea was anathema to them. They proposed instead the creation of another Appalachian National Forest: a compromise that would provide a scenic recreation site while allowing lumbering to continue.

Chief among the opposition spokesmen was Reuben B. Robertson, president of Champion Fibre Co. of Canton, N.C. Champion owned nearly 100,000 acres of spruce and mixed hardwoods in the very center of the Smokies which the company had bought from smaller companies about 10 years before. About 9,000 acres of the tract had been logged, but most was virgin timber.[12] Robertson began a publicity campaign via newspapers and pamphlets to counter the park enthusiasts. Although his primary motivation was to protect the economic interests of Champion, his arguments were also based on the value of scientific forestry. Since most of the Smokies were cutover or culled, he reasoned, they should not be left to the course of nature but managed under sound principles of silviculture. The Forest Service was, to Robertson, clearly the preferable land management agency.[13]

Support for Robertson's position was, if not widespread, at least strong. North Carolina lumber companies almost universally sided with Champion. Andrew Gennett, of the Gennett Lumber Co. of Asheville, agreed too, but proposed a compromise 100,000-acre park along the crest of the Smokies *within* the boundaries of a National Forest.[14] In Tennessee, the movement for a National Forest as an alternative to a park was led by James Wright, a landowner in Elkmont and attorney for the Louisville-Nashville Railroad. The movement was initially strong enough to defeat the first bill in the Tennessee legislature to buy a tract from the Little River Lumber Co.

Sentiment for a National Park, however, was ultimately stronger, although it is difficult to gauge the degree of public awareness of the park-vs.-forest issue. The newspapers, at least, carried the debate. Horace Kephart, of Bryson City, N.C., author of *Our Southern Highlanders*, argued against Robertson in an article in the Asheville *Times* of July 19, 1925:

> . . . if the Smoky Mountain region were turned into a national forest, the 50,000 to 60,000 acres of original forests that are all we have left would be robbed of their big trees. They would be the first to go.
>
> Why should this last stand of splendid, irreplaceable trees be sacrificed to the greedy maw of the sawmill? Why should future generations be robbed of all chance to see with their own eyes what a real forest, a real wildwood, a real unimproved work of God, is like?
>
> It is all nonsense to say that the country needs that timber. If every stick of it were cut, the output would be a mere drop in the bucket compared with the annual production of lumber in America. Let these few old trees stand! Let the nation save them inviolate by treating them as national monuments in a national park.[15]

Indeed, Kephart reminded his readers, the Forest Service did not want a National Forest in the Great Smokies; the earlier purchase unit there had been dissolved and options to purchase relinquished. Others argued that a National Forest could not compare to a park in the tourist trade it would bring. As Dan Tompkins, editor of the *Jackson County Journal*, expressed the sentiment, "We have examples of national forests in Jackson and most of the other mountain counties, and if a single tourist has ever come here to see them, we've missed him."[16]

In the end, the arguments against lumbering, and for scenery, recreation, and tourism, were stronger. Local response to the fund-raising campaign was seemingly enthusiastic; by the end of 1925, several hundred thousand dollars had been pledged. Although a considerable amount of money was raised, the base of support for the movement is difficult to ascertain. As with the first Appalachian park movement, the second one was principally an urban, professional coalition, led by the business leaders of Asheville and Knoxville. The roles of publishers Charles A. Webb of the Asheville *Citizen and Times* and Edward Meeman of the Knoxville *News-Sentinel* were certainly key to the campaign's success. The movement was well organized, and its appeal was broader than that of the earlier park movement. Although there were undoubtedly small landholders and people employed in lumbering who opposed the coming of the park, their spokesmen were few; their opposition was overwhelmed by the momentum of the park idea.

First Tract Purchased in 1925

In 1925 the first tract of land for the Great Smokies park was purchased: 76,507 acres from the Little River Lumber Co. for $3.57 per acre. One-third of the $273,557 purchase price was paid by the City of Knoxville, two-thirds by the State of Tennessee. The tract was essentially the lands that had been optioned for purchase as a National Forest 10 years earlier. Most had been heavily cut, and lumbering was underway on the remaining acres. In fact, Col. W. B. Townsend, owner of the lumber company, sold the tract with timber rights for 15 years to all trees over 10 inches in diameter.[17]

On May 22, 1926, President Calvin Coolidge signed a bill passed by the 69th Congress authorizing Federal parks in the Blue Ridge and Great Smoky Mountains, all land for which was to be purchased with State and private funds.[18] The Great Smoky Mountains National Park was originally to be 704,000 acres. Once 150,000 acres were purchased, administration by the National Park Service would begin; once a minimum of 300,000 acres was purchased, the park could actually be developed.

The next 2 years involved a search for purchasing funds. Early in 1927, North Carolina appropriated $2 million for park land acquisition; Tennessee followed with an appropriation of $1.5 million. In 1928, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., offered $5 million from the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial Foundation on a dollar-for-dollar matching basis. Although finances remained tight, the Rockefeller grant assured that acquisition could begin on a large scale.[19]

Land acquisition for the Great Smoky Mountains Park took approximately 10 years, although certain condemnation suits were not resolved until the 1940's. The total area of the park contained more than 6,600 separate tracts. Over 5,000 were small lots that had been auctioned or sold for summer homes; almost all were in Tennessee. About 1,200 tracts were small mountain farms from 40 to several hundred acres in size; most were in Tennessee as well. The majority of the land was in a few large tracts held by timber companies, primarily in North Carolina. Among them were the Champion Fibre, and the Suncrest, Norwood, William Ritter, Montvale, and Kitchen lumber companies. Because most of the smaller tracts were in Tennessee, land acquisition there was more difficult and time-consuming. North Carolina park acquisition was almost complete by 1931; by 1934 only a 60-acre tract remained to be purchased. Tennessee on the other hand, was actively acquiring tracts as late as 1938.[20]

The authority for land acquisition was in the hands of the North Carolina and Tennessee park commissions. Verne Rhoades, former Forest Service officer, was executive secretary of the North Carolina Commission. At first the commissions were reluctant to take land by condemnation, but gradually they realized that it was necessary in some cases. The timber firms often asked prices the commission could not pay, and some of the smaller farmers were as resistant to selling as the timber firms. If an owner were particularly stubborn, he was permitted to sell his property at a lower price and become a lifetime tenant. The tactic was often used to determine which owners were clinging to their land out of genuine love and which were trying to drive hard bargains.[21]

Lumber Companies Violently Oppose Selling Lands

Some lumber companies expressed determined opposition to the purchase of their lands. In 1928 the Suncrest Lumber Co., having been asked to halt logging operations, and anticipating condemnation, challenged the constitutionality of the North Carolina Park Commission and its right to condemn. In a series of court battles the Commission won not only its right to force timber operations to halt, but also its right to condemn in State courts. In 1929, Suncrest closed its logging operations completely, but the tract was not purchased until 1932, when litigation over the price of the tract was resolved. The North Carolina Park Commission paid $600,000 for the almost 33,000-acre tract.[22]

The opposition of Champion Fibre Co. to the Great Smoky Mountains National Park at first had been fierce; however, after the North Carolina park appropriation of $2 million was passed, Robertson relented, and Champion subsequently suspended logging operations on its tract. Preliminary negotiations to purchase the property were begun in late 1929, but it soon became apparent that the park commissions and Champion placed vastly different values on the land. In January 1930 the Tennessee Park Commission began condemnation proceedings to acquire its share of the tract. Tennessee valued the 39,549 acres on its side at from $300,000 to $800,000; Champion claimed the acreage was worth between $4 million and $7 million. Champion based the figures on the incomparable quality of the area's spruce timber and the almost total dependence of the Canton mill on this spruce. Indeed, the Canton mill and rail lines had been built specifically to handle the spruce. Robertson's perspective in 1929 was that the loss of the spruce supply would mean an end to the sulphite mill. As he recalled later, in spite of the desirability of the park for the State and community, "we had a duty to our stockholders to protect their investment."[23]

In November 1930, a Sevierville jury awarded Champion $2,325,000 for the tract as well as $225,000 in damages to the Canton mill. Tennessee, outraged, threatened to appeal the case. Champion was not satisfied either; Robertson wanted $4 million for the tract.[24] Two months later he announced that Champion would resume logging on the Tennessee property; with that, the Tennessee Park Commission appealed the jury's decision.

The problem was finally resolved when National Park Service director Horace Albright called Champion and park commission officials to Washington. There, in spite of bitter personal disagreement between Robertson and Col. David Chapman of the park commission, a settlement was reached. Champion was paid $3 million for its 92,814.5-acre tract: over $32 per acre. In spite of Robertson's predictions, Champion's mill at Canton did not close. Over the course of the next decade the company perfected a process of making high-quality paper from pine fiber as a substitute for spruce. In fact, pine, available from the Piedmont, proved to be a cheaper resource than the Smoky Mountains spruce, and assured a much more profitable operation.

On the whole, the small farmers and lot holders, if not eager, were often willing to sell their land for the park. There were, of course, exceptions, some of whom were as resistant to the park as Champion and Suncrest. The lines of battle were drawn over prices: the disparities between values placed on land by the park commissions and those by the landowners were often wide.

The Cades Cove Settlement

Probably the most famous condemnation cases involved selected tracts in the Cades Cove area of Tennessee. Cades Cove, a wide valley surrounded by some of the Smokies' highest peaks, was a settlement of farms that had been passed down through families for several generations. John Oliver, who owned 375 acres in Cades Cove, absolutely refused to sell; condemnation proceedings began in 1929 but the case was not settled until 1935. The apparent source of Mr. Oliver's hostility to the park was a particular person on the acquisition team, who was subsequently replaced. Mr. Oliver was paid $17,000 for his farm, over $45 per acre.[25]

The Tennessee commission tried a series of tactics to persuade the Cades Cove opponents to sell. Ben Morton of Knoxville, whose father had been a respected physician in the area, was sent to Cades Cove as ambassador of goodwill. It was in response to Cades Cove opposition that the commission began allowing especially resistant oldtimers to remain lifetime tenants on their land if they sold at a lower price.

Other pockets of recalcitrant owners were the Elkmont and Cherokee Orchards areas of Tennessee, where some cases were not settled until the late 1930's. One especially well-known condemnation case concerned the 660-acre property of W. O. Whittle, not far from Gatlinburg. Whittle valued his land at $200,000; park estimators offered no more than $40,000. The case was in litigation until 1942, when a federal jury awarded Whittle $36,700, over $55 per acre.[26]

Other opposition to the park took the form of general disgruntlement with the Tennessee and North Carolina park commissions. In North Carolina, $51,000 in park funds had been lost in the 1931 failure of an Asheville bank. Over the next few years of the Depression, the expenditures of the commission often seemed extravagant. Protest was strong enough to effect change. In 1933, North Carolina reduced the size of the commission and appointed a new set of commissioners; in Tennessee, the commission was abolished and its duties transferred to the Tennessee Park and Forestry Commission.

Roosevelt Gets CCC Money For Park

In spite of these changes, the prices paid for land were often higher than anticipated and, even with the Rockefeller grants, the commissions ran out of funds twice. In December 1933, President Roosevelt secured $1,550,000 in CCC funds for the park, most of which went to pay for North Carolina lands. Several years later more funds were required. In 1937 Tennessee Senator Thomas McKellar attached to a bill appropriating money for lands in the Tahoe National Forest in Nevada, an amendment providing almost $750,000 to complete purchases in the Smokies. The bill passed in 1938.[27]

In general, the prices paid for park land were high, especially compared to prices paid for National Forest lands during the same years. Prices for large tracts in the Pisgah, Cherokee, and Nantahala National Forests during the 1930's averaged between $3 and $10 an acre. Even the incomparable "virgin" timber of the Nantahala forest's Gennett tract brought only $28 per acre. In the Smokies, Champion's land sold for $32 an acre. Companies other than Champion were paid well for their land. Suncrest's tract was settled in 1932 for over $18 per acre. In 1933, the Ravensford Lumber Co. tract, over half of which had been cutover, sold for over $33 per acre. In 1935 the large Tennessee tract belonging to the Morton Butler heirs was settled for over $15 per acre; the owners were outraged at the low price.[28]

To some degree, land values for the park were inflated by demand. The stated goal of buying all the land within the park boundaries undoubtedly encouraged some landowners, confident that the government would eventually buy, to hold out for higher prices. Built into some of the prices, of course, were the costs of litigation, damages, and delay. For example, when the Sevierville jury awarded a settlement to Champion Fibre, they included $225,000 for damages for the company's railroad and mill.[29] Nevertheless, considering that most of the Smokies' timberland had been cut and that Depression prices prevailed over the region, the discrepancies were large.

Land acquisition agencies were aware of the high prices being paid. In 1935 the Agricultural Adjustment Administration discussed cooperating with the Park Service in acquiring submarginal land in Haywood County, N.C., which could then be added to the park. The Forest Service also was enlisted to help. Samuel Broadbent, Supervisor of the Pisgah National Forest, felt the Forest Service could acquire a half dozen tracts along the Pigeon River at more moderate prices than the park commission, and pledged cooperation with the Park Service and AAA.[30] However, according to Roger Miller of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park headquarters, the Forest Service never acquired any land for the park.[31]

The Park's Effects on the Mountain People

In 1931, the headquarters of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park was established at Gatlinburg, Tenn., and the park was developed slowly. In 1936, after more than 400,000 acres had been acquired and turned over to the Federal Government, the Park Service assumed responsibility for land acquisition. In 1940 the park was dedicated by President Roosevelt.

Until most of the area within the park boundaries was consolidated, land management was fragmentary and difficult. Protecting the area from fires, vandalism, and hunting was the major management activity. It was particularly difficult to stop mountaineers from hunting on grounds they had used for that purpose for generations. Incendiary fires also plagued the first park rangers. Fire control improved over the decade with construction of fire towers and fire control roads by the CCC. During 1934 and 1935 there were 16 CCC camps active within the park, with over 4,000 men employed.[32]

In slightly more than a decade, there was an almost complete change in landownership within the park area. The timber companies either closed down, as Suncrest did, or resumed operations elsewhere. (The vast majority—85 percent—of the land was held by 18 lumber companies.)[33] Altogether, about 4,250 people, or 700 families, were affected by the creation of the park.[34] Most small farmers and their families in the Smokies settled on farms in adjacent parts of Swain, Sevier, and Graham counties, or in nearby villages. Gatlinburg, for example, which was a hamlet of only 75 people in 1930, grew to 1,300 residents by 1940, almost entirely as a result of park outmigration.[35]

In 1934 a survey of Tennessee families whose lands had been acquired for the park was undertaken by W. O. Whittle for the University of Tennessee Agricultural Experiment Station, to ascertain the impact of relocation on the lives of the people involved. Information was obtained on 528 families, and 331 were personally interviewed. The survey revealed that most families had relocated on adjacent land. Only 2.6 percent of the families moved to other States, and 22 percent to other counties. Fifteen percent retained temporary or life occupancy within the park boundaries.[36]

In general, the survey found that for the 331 families interviewed, movement from the area of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park increased tenancy, decreased the average acreage held, and increased unemployment. Yet most relocated families also were closer to church, schools, and stores in their new locations, and found agricultural conditions more favorable. Overall, 54 percent of the families interviewed regarded the conditions of their former and new locations to be equal.

Land acquisition and outmigration continued at a trickle over the decades of the 1940's and 1950's, as boundaries were adjusted and most difficult cases settled. The pattern of outmigration was similar to that of the 1930's. In 1982 the park contained 515,000 acres or 208,600 hectares, about 805 square miles, with about 2,600 acres of inholdings yet to be acquired.[37]

Economic Boom Benefits Only a Few

The economic boom that park enthusiasts had promised was slow to arrive, and some would question whether it ever came at all. Although the annual number of visitors to the Great Smoky Mountains National Park increased over the years to over 3 million, the money left by them went only to a small portion of the local population. The Gatlinburg area, for example, virtually exploded in commercial acreage, number of businesses, gross business receipts, and residential subdivision, but the beneficiaries of this growth were few. Most of Gatlinburg's business district was owned for many decades by a few prominent families: the Ogles, Whaleys, Huffs, and Reagans. Thus, "the benefits of commercial land ownership, primarily in the form of contract rents, are flowing largely to a small group of local residents."[38] Others who invested in Gatlinburg were outsiders: either large, nationally based chains, in the case of businesses, or vacationers and subdivision developers, in the case of residential land. Meanwhile, for those who were dislocated by the park, the benefits of tourism were meager, if not nonexistent.[39]

The grievances against the park were sometimes specific, as in the case of many Swain County residents over the non-completion of a highway which the Federal Government promised to rebuild. Swain County is almost 82 percent federally owned: one half of the county is within the park, and half the Cherokee Reservation is in the county; much of the remaining land is part of the Nantahala National Forest. TVA's Fontana Dam, built in 1943, backed Fontana Lake halfway across the county. Several people who lived on park or TVA land relocated in the interstices of the National Forest.[40]

In 1940, even after the park was dedicated, park officials and park enthusiasts wanted to include one more major tract within park boundaries: almost 45,920 acres north of the Little Tennessee River in the area of Fontana, N.C.[41] The tract belonged to the North Carolina Exploration Co., a subsidiary of the Tennessee Copper Co. It was traversed by North Carolina Highway 288, from Bryson City to Deal's Gap. Acquisition of the land would ease the administration of park regulations against hunters and poachers, and would help fire control. The value of the land, however, was exorbitantly high for the Park Service.

TVA Acquires Fontana Dam Site

During World War II, TVA acquired 44,000 acres of the tract for Fontana Dam. The lake created by the dam cut off Highway 288. TVA agreed to rebuild the road, but had insufficient funds to do so. Thus, a convenient exchange between Federal agencies occurred. TVA gave the remaining land to the Great Smoky Mountains National Park. (At the same time, TVA transferred acreage south of the lake to the Forest Service.) The Park Service now had the regular boundary it desired, down to the shores of Lake Fontana, and in return agreed to rebuild Highway 288. Thus, TVA relinquished its responsibility for building a road, the Park got its desired land, and the people of the area were given a promise.[42]

In 1982 the promise was still unfulfilled. Only 6 miles of the road was built from Bryson City into the park. At one point construction was halted because of the legal question of the right of the National Park Service to build a nonaccess road through the lands of the North Carolina Exploration Co. In 1979 the road was not being built because of the environmental hazards it might bring. Excessive cutting and filling would be required on steep slopes; the mineral content of the soil would cause a dangerous runoff. Anakeesta, the predominant mineral, has been known to cause deadly pollution in mountain streams.[43]

The people of Swain County are not receptive to this reason for the Park Service's failure to rebuild its highway. They believe that their county has inadequate access from outside and, therefore, cannot participate in whatever benefits accrue from park tourism. In addition to access from without, residents have lost access to areas within the park that were homesites and farm sites. About 26 family cemeteries have been cut off from access by road; they can be reached only by boat across Fontana Lake, and then by foot or horseback up the mountains. Off-road vehicles are prohibited in the park.[44]

It was not the intent of the Park Service to eliminate the former culture of the Smoky Mountains region. In fact, the settlement of Cades Cove has been preserved as a historical area, with an operating grist mill and country store. Nevertheless, because the park has no permanent inhabitants and because the field and forests cannot be used as they formerly were, the park bears no sign of an active culture. The same can be said of the Blue Ridge Parkway, to be considered next.

Blue Ridge Parkway, a New Deal Project

It was not long after the establishment of National Parks in the Blue Ridge and Great Smoky Mountains that the idea developed to connect the Shenandoah National Park to the Great Smoky Park by a scenic mountain highway. Congressman Maurice Thatcher of Kentucky had promoted the idea as early as 1930. Since 1931 the Skyline Drive had been under construction in the Shenandoah National Park. The road had proved a welcome source of employment for the mountain regions particularly hard hit by the Depression; the idea of extending this roadway from the Shenandoah Park to the Smokies seemed logical, even inevitable.

The Blue Ridge Parkway was actually conceived during a meeting at the Virignia Governor's mansion in Richmond in September 1933. Although no single person can be credited as Parkway originator, Virginia's Senator Harry F. Byrd was instrumental in the inaugural phase of the project, convincing Interior Secretary Harold Ickes, and therefore President Franklin Roosevelt, of the Parkway's value. Official reaction to the proposed highway was immediate and almost universally enthusiastic. Within 2 months $4 million had been allotted for the Blue Ridge Parkway, and plans for its construction begun.[45]

The beginnings of the Parkway present a contrast to those of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park. Coming in 1933 at the Depression's depth and with the New Deal's optimistic launching, the Parkway passed immediately into the Federal domain. It was, from the beginning, not just a National Park but a relief project, and was supported and orchestrated from Washington.

With FDR's blessing, money for Parkway construction was allotted in December 1933 by the Special Board for Public Works under the National Industrial Recovery Act. This Federal funding was assured after the States had agreed to purchase the necessary right-of-way of 200 feet and deed it to the Federal Government. Secretary Ickes assigned the Parkway to the jurisdiction of the National Park Service, which was to cooperate with the Bureau of Public Roads in its construction.

Initial local reaction to the proposed highway was almost unanimously favorable. Hundreds of letters were received by Federal and State officials from mountain residents offering their land for rights-of-way, requesting that the Parkway be routed through a particular town or piece of property, or asking for employment in highway construction. One such letter received by North Carolina Congressman Doughton from a resident of Sparta pleaded for "us people that lives along the crest of the Blue Ridge . . . cut off from the outside world . . . We would be glad to give you the Right a way to get the Road."[46]

The Parkway was welcomed especially as a source of economic relief. Part of its appeal was undoubtedly its relative immediacy, but the boost anticipated was short-term, in contrast to the economic boom anticipated from tourism to the Great Smoky Park not a decade previously. The tourism the Parkway would bring in the future was secondary to the employment the Parkway would offer right away to absorb the labor surplus of the mountains. According to the Asheville *Citizen*, other Federal agencies and relief programs could not equal the Parkway in the quantity and type of economic assistance offered:

> The National Industrial Recovery Act would do little for them [the mountain residents] because they had relatively few industries; the Agricultural Adjustment Act could not offer much aid because their small farms had no important staple crop; the Tennessee Valley Authority could offer little immediate help, if ever; the creation of Shenandoah and the Great Smoky Mountains National parks and a series of national forests had removed much property from the tax books and had halted the timber work which had employed thousands. Thus, a great local construction project, such as road building, appeared to be their only salvation.[47]

Opposition expressed toward the construction of the Parkway was scattered and feeble. Certain conservation groups registered concern about the highway. *Nature Magazine* in a 1935 editorial protested that the Parkway would ruin the landscape and allow careless dispersal of trash; Robert Marshall, who a few years later became Recreation Director of the Forest Service, expressed worries at a 1934 meeting of the American Forestry Association that the Parkway would destroy wilderness areas.[48] Certain owners of summer mountain cabins, threatened with the loss of their private retreats, protested the road. On the whole, however, in the middle of the 1930s the Blue Ridge Parkway was a much-applauded, happily anticipated regional gain.[49]

The selection of the route of the Blue Ridge Parkway absorbed nearly a year of bitter wrangling between North Carolina and Tennessee for Federal favor. The final choice of a route along the higher mountain ridge in North Carolina, by Grandfather Mountain, and by Asheville, to enter the Great Smoky Park at Cherokee, was made by Secretary Ickes in late 1934. Actual acquisition for the Parkway began shortly after the final route selection was announced.[50]

The National Park Service required that for every mile of parkway, 100 acres be acquired in fee simple, and 50 acres of scenic easement be controlled. The average width of the right-of-way strip was to be 1,000 feet, and no less than 200 feet. Although Virginia never accepted these requirements, for the most part North Carolina did. Both States had the power to condemn by eminent domain; in North Carolina, simply posting the Parkway's route through a given county at the county courthouse established the right to title. In Virginia, the acquisition procedure was the same as for other State roads.[51]

Altogether 38,000 acres in North Carolina and 23,500 acres in Virginia were acquired for the Blue Ridge Parkway. The Parkway deliberately bypassed existing communities; thus, for the most part, the land acquired was in the most remote and sparsely populated areas of the mountain counties. Many of the people whose land was affected lived in small isolated cabins or on meager subsistence farms. In some cases, area residents had never heard a radio.[52] The surveyors for the path of the Parkway often found the land as remote and inaccessible as had the early Forest Service surveyors 20 years before.

Parkway Land Acquisition Proves Difficult

In both States, in spite of the eagerness that initially greeted announcement of the Parkway, acquisition of both rights-of-way and scenic easements proved much more difficult than anticipated. This difficulty was due partly to popular confusion and misunderstandings about what the scenic easement and right-of-way for a National Parkway imply. In the case of a right-of-way, title is held by the Park Service; in the case of an easement, the landower continues to hold title but relinquishes to the Federal Government certain controls over the use or appearance of the land. In both cases, roadside development, commercial frontage, and access are strictly prohibited. Thus, a landowner selling a right-of-way or easement received no direct benefit from the Parkway, save the one-time payment for the land. Furthermore, there may have been a discrepancy between those who wrote the editorials proclaiming a county's eagerness for the roadway and those whose land actually lay in the Parkway's path. It was probably easy for a mountain county in 1934 to applaud the coming of the Parkway *in general,* but not so easy for individual mountaineers 2 years later to accept that *their* particular tract would be taken.

Although many residents were pleased to sell their mountain land at a time of economic deprivation, some counties had scores of condemnation cases during the acquisition process.

Figure 75.—Tiny dilapidated log cabin, similar to many encountered on the right-of-way of the Blue Ridge Parkway and in Great Smoky Mountains National Park. This one was on lower slopes of Flat Top Mountain, between Troutdale and Konnarock, Va., in July 1958, near the present Mt. Rogers National Recreation Area, east of Damascus, near the Tennessee and North Carolina State lines. (Forest Service photo F-487199)

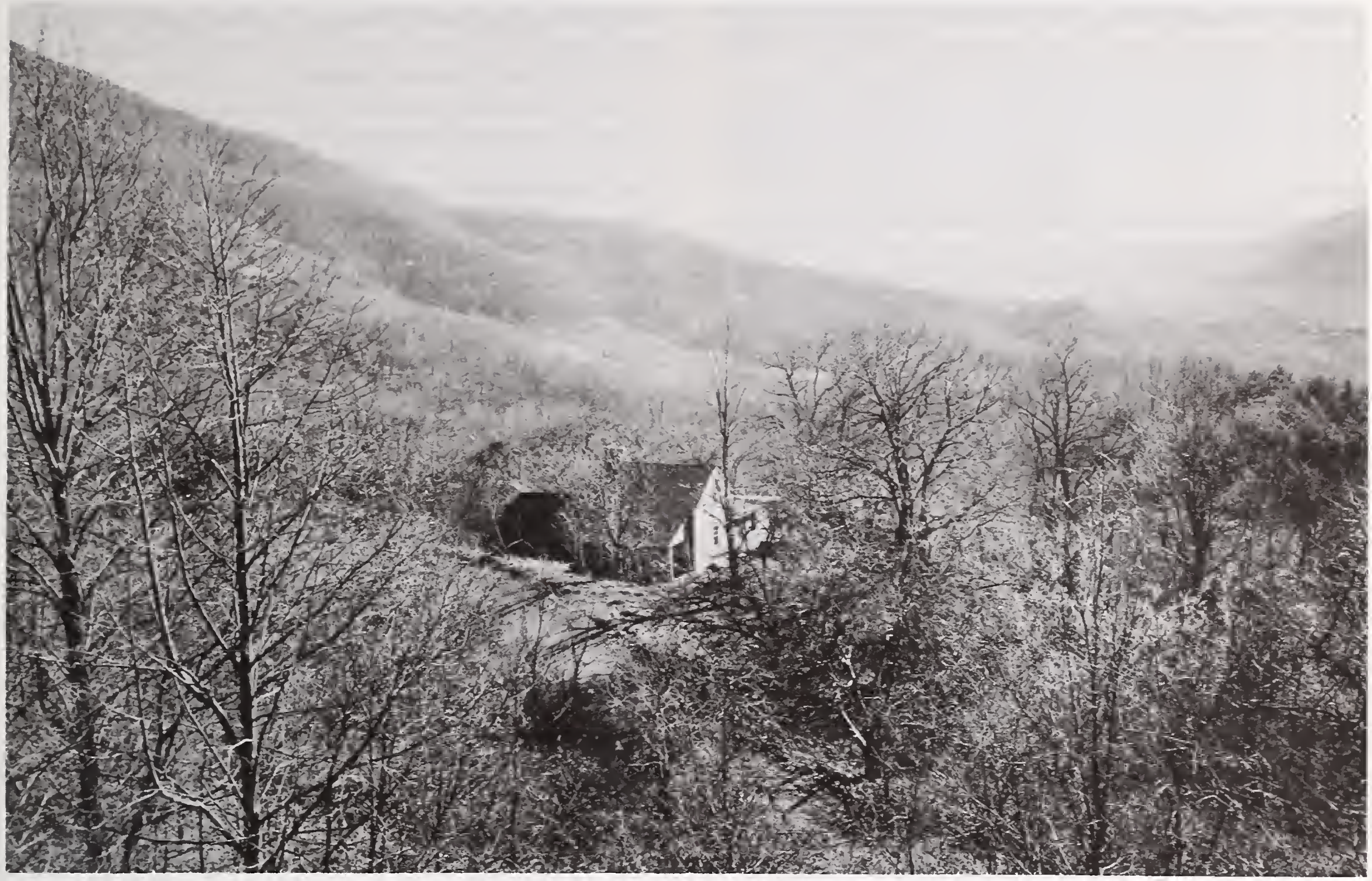

Figure 76.—View from Blue Ridge Parkway showing mountain farm home, and fields and forest lands encountered along the route. Forests were heavily culled, and many farm fields were worn out and returning to brush. This scene, taken in 1948, is on lower slopes of Sharp Top in the Peaks of Otter region of the Jefferson National Forest near Roanoke, Va. (Forest Service photo F-452145)

Tales of mountaineers' fierce resistance to land sales echo those of Cades Cove in the Great Smokies. One owner, for example, challenged the constitutionality of the North Carolina law appropriating the purchasing funds; one refused to move a barn from the acquired right-of-way and had it sliced down the middle instead; one threatened a bulldozer with a double-barrel shotgun. Some landowners were ultimately able to avoid losing their land. As in the Great Smoky Park, several grants of lifetime tenure were given as exceptions to elderly people whose families had held the land for generations and who were especially resistant to moving. In addition, some summer homeowners were persuasive enough to have the Parkway re-routed around their tracts.[53]

It must be remembered that most landowners sold only a strip or corner of their land; except where the original acreage was small, losing a strip did not necessarily infringe on the privacy or coherence of a tract. Poor mountaineers obviously suffered more than large landholders. In some areas more than a strip of land was involved where special developments were planned along the 477-mile Parkway route: recreation sites for camping and picnicking; service areas for lodging, eating, and automobile service. For them, at least several hundred acres had to be acquired.

The effect of acquiring special development park areas on the lives of the people who had resided there suggests what some other mountaineers along the Parkway route experienced. Families forced to give up their farms were suddenly confronted with the necessity of finding new homes and, in some cases, new employment. For some, the process of relocation was relatively easy; for others, relinquishing their land brought confusion and helplessness. Five of the special service areas became part of a Land Use Project funded by the Resettlement Administration in May and June 1936. The five areas totaled 5,300 acres, most of which was optioned for purchase by the summer of 1937. A total of 39 families had lived on the acreage and, with option for purchase, had moved on their own or were helped to relocate.[54]

The North Carolina special service areas were in Alleghany, Wilkes, and Surrey counties, none of which had had any National Forests or other Federal land project. Of the 13 North Carolina families who were affected, 10 moved on their own. Most of them did not move far. Several owned other tracts nearby on which they settled; 3 became tenants on neighboring farms. In May 1937, 3 of the families still remained on the park land, but none was to be allowed to stay longer and all needed Resettlement aid to relocate. These 3 families had been farming plots of less than 20 mountainous acres; their cash incomes averaged less than $100 per year. The families averaged 6 members; their housing was sub-standard at best. Although all were poorly educated and untrained, they were regarded by welfare workers as having "a tenacious and fighting spirit." None had ever been on relief before.[55] The 3 families wished to resettle on farms close to their current homes. They were expected to be paid between $4 and $10 per acre for their lands; all were expected to need help in finding land and employment.

The summary of proposals and recommendations regarding the people displaced by the park areas may speak for other mountaineers all down the Parkway route:

> The majority of families living within the park areas were living on submarginal land, and most of the persons living there were the owners of the tract on which they lived. The families themselves felt that in selling their land they had done a service for the government. They are worried and at a loss to know the reason for the great delay in being paid, and the necessity for a relief status before they can get work in the park. In the majority of cases the only asset the family had was the farm on which they lived. They will receive so small a sum for their land that it will be impossible for them to continue as self-supporting citizens unless some aid is given. In many cases advice in buying new land is necessary in order that the family will not be influenced to buy land that will not meet their needs and on which they cannot improve their condition.[56]

In general, it appears that for the poor mountaineers whose lands were taken for the Parkway, compensation was meager and slow to arrive. Some may have felt they helped their Government, but they were confused and upset about the delay in payment for their land. For the poorest, dislocation seems to have necessitated relief payments and a welfare status. Even for those who profited nicely by their land sales, the long-term benefits may have been limited. Profits from sale of land with inflated values are often illusory when the seller tries to reinvest in comparable land.[57]

The Blue Ridge Parkway did, however, bring employment to the region, supplying numerous jobs from 1935 until World War II. Four CCC camps employing about 150 boys each were established along the route of the Parkway; the Emergency Relief Administration sponsored several building projects as well. Private contractors on the Parkway were required to use as much local labor as possible; laborers had to be recruited from the relief and unemployment rolls of the counties through which the road was built. It has been estimated that of all the hard labor the Parkway involved, only 10 percent was imported from outside the immediate region.[58]

Actual Parkway construction began in September 1935, almost 2 years after authorization, on a portion of the Parkway near the North Carolina-Virginia line. More than 100 men from the relief rolls of Alleghany County, N.C., were recruited. Eventually, local men were hired to help in surveying, land clearing, fence building, planting, erosion control, truck driving, and construction of recreation and service facilities. Wages were the minimum 30 cents per hour, which was generally far more than was obtainable elsewhere in the area.

As a long-term employer, however, the Blue Ridge Parkway served a limited role. After construction was completed, the Parkway continued to employ, and still does, local residents in the service areas, for maintenance, repairs, and grounds keeping, but the staff is not large.

Parkway Bypasses Mountain People

Aside from the initial money received for the sale of land and scenic easements, and the Depression employment it supplied, the Blue Ridge Parkway bypassed the people of the Southern Appalachians. The Parkway forbids roadside development and commercial establishments, minimizes access, avoids existing communities and arterials, and prevents new ones from encroaching. A visitor can travel the entire Parkway and, except for exhibit areas preserved by the Park Service, scarcely see a sign of the mountain culture the road has displaced. Like the Great Smoky Mountains National Park, the land acquisition for, and the management of, the Blue Ridge Parkway have done little to preserve or enrich the culture of the Southern Appalachians.

Forty years later it is still important to recall the impact of the New Deal on the Southern Appalachian highlands. The coming of largescale lumbering had altered the economy and the landscape of the region in the years following the turn of the century. The alterations made by the New Deal were just as profound, but very different. Earlier change came from increasing exploitation of resources and people. The New Deal marked the first real attempt to protect them. However, New Deal programs were ultimately unable to change entirely the pattern of thoughtless exploitation of resources such as timber and coal. The people and the land benefited from the New Deal, but it was not enough.

In the mountains as everywhere in the United States, the New Deal brought agencies of the Federal Government directly into the lives of ordinary people for the first time. For the first time people were encouraged to think that Federal programs might solve their local problems.

The National Forests had been in the mountains for 20 years, but they had had limited visibility and impact. Much of the land purchased earlier was cutover timber land with few inhabitants. As the forests were expanded during the New Deal, they became more important to the economies of the neighboring counties and began to push aside some local residents. Forest expansion was only part of the large Federal land acquisition carried out by various agencies. The Park Service and the Tennessee Valley Authority in particular bought numerous small tracts of land from mountain people. The number and complexity of these land purchases guaranteed that many sellers would be left with a grievance against "the government."

The benefits of the land purchases are often more readily visible to those removed from the scene by time or distance. Today the economic development programs, electric power, erosion and flood control brought about by TVA have made an obvious contribution to life in the Southern Appalachian region. The Great Smoky Mountains Park and the Blue Ridge Parkway are national treasures enjoyed by millions of visitors every year. The National Forests have become increasingly important for outdoor recreation and as places where Appalachian hardwoods can grow for future generations. In the 1930's in mountain neighborhoods it was often easier to think of families displaced and rural villages gone than of the future benefits available to those who remained.

Although there were some problems and conflicts, the CCC generated more good will than any other Federal program of the '30s. Employment provided by the CCC was invaluable to many mountain families. Welfare programs could have a demoralizing effect on the mountain people, as Caudill points out in *Night Comes to the Cumberlands.*[59] But the CCC was not a "something for nothing" program. By encouraging work and learning, it provided a valuable antidote to the hopelessness the Depression had added to an area already beset with economic problems.

It is difficult to evaluate the impact of the growing recreation use of the mountains. The potential for enjoyment of the mountains was preserved and greatly increased by New Deal developments. Long frequented by the wealthy, mountain resorts became more accessible to the automobile-owning middle class. The park, parkway, and forest recreation provided are a blessing to those, often from urban areas, who use them; but they are a mixed blessing to mountain people. Tourist business can contribute to a local economy, but the contribution is rarely a large one, as many people of the region were to realize in the 1960's and 1970's.[60]

It was the Forest Service, with its emphasis on long-range production of a renewable resource, that contributed the most to the preservation of possibilities for the old mountain way of life. The lands it took over generally remained open for traditional uses such as wood gathering, hunting, fishing, and berrying. The Forest Service and the CCC together provided the best job opportunities for mountain men during the Depression years. The growing timber promised employment for the future as well.

Reference Notes

(In the following notes, the expression "NA, RG 83, FHA" means National Archives, Record Group 83, Farmers Home Administration (USDA). See Bibliography, IX.)

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18. 44 Stat. 616; 16 USC 403.

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Chapter VI
World War II Through the Fifties: From FDR to JFK

World War II marked the beginning of major economic and demographic changes in the Southern Appalachians. The wartime boom was temporary, and afterward the Depression returned. Many people left to find work elsewhere; rural farm population declined dramatically between 1940 and 1960. Meanwhile, Federal land acquisition nearly stopped as national priorities shifted. The Forest Service had to cope with a major increase in demand for outdoor recreation and balance that demand with other forest uses and needs. Although problems of National Forest management in the Southern Appalachians during the 1950's occurred in apparent calm, the region's poverty remained, and the potential conflicts among forest uses which were to receive national attention in the 1960's had already appeared.

With the outbreak of war in Europe in September 1939, new and increasing demands were placed on the Nation's manpower and natural resources, demands that accelerated when this country entered the war in December 1941. Wartime production and mobilization revitalized the Depression-worn national economy. By 1944 half the country was engaged in war-related production, and full employment had returned.[1] The Southern Appalachians experienced a good share of wartime changes as coal and timber prices began to rise. Old jobs in mining and lumbering reopened and new industries were established close to the mountains. Although emergency New Deal programs were gradually phased out, the popular and effective CCC lasted until war came to America, and the Tennessee Valley Authority continued to provide construction and related employment through the war years.

Heavy Demand for Timber

Demands on the Nation's timber resource were heavy. Wood was needed to build bridges, barracks, ships, aircraft, and above all packing crates for shipping supplies overseas. Vital wood products were cellulose for explosives, wood plastic, rosin, and glycerol. Wood was classified as a critical material by the War Production Board. Although the heaviest demand for wood fell on the Douglas-fir forests of the West and the coastal southern yellow pines, the hardwoods and conifers of the southern mountains were also needed.[2]

The wartime demand for timber increased sales from National Forests throughout the South — from 94.2 billion board feet in 1939 to 245.3 billion in 1943.[3] High war demands led to heavy cutting, especially of such desirable hardwoods as redgum and yellow- (tulip) poplar. There was a strong market even for previously unwanted "limby old field pines and inferior hardwoods." The total cut was still less than half of the estimated overall timber growth there, however. This was true because the forests all contained considerable second-growth timber which, although growing rapidly, was still not mature enough for harvesting.[4]

Figure 77.—Crew with crosscut saw and double-bit axe checking large mature white pine marked for harvest for the Appalachian Forest Products mill near Clayton, Rabun County, Ga., on Chattahoochee National Forest, July 1941. The mill was the first to be operated on a sustained-yield basis in North Georgia and depended on the Forest for most of its timber. (Forest Service photo F-414090)

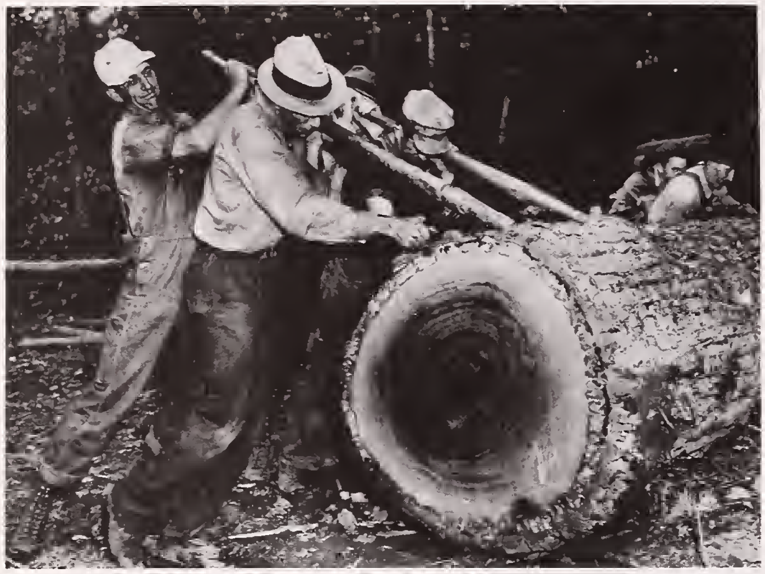

Figure 78.—Crew using peavies to roll a huge yellow-poplar log down to loading platform on Chattahoochee National Forest, July 1941. (Forest Service photo F-414105)

Figure 79.—Lumber crew rolling yellow-poplar logs from skidway platform to truck on Chattahoochee National Forest, July 1941. (Forest Service photo F-414107)

Reflecting Forest Service policy, and the generally scattered and small volume available, about 90 percent of the timber was disposed of in sales of less than $500 each. The supervisor of the Cumberland (since renamed Daniel Boone) National Forest related in 1941:

> . . . one mountain inhabitant purchased sufficient timber in small lots to make 1,200 railroad ties. He hired help to cut the timber; hewed the ties himself; skidded them to the roadside with his own mule; hired trucking of his product to the point of acceptance. He cleared about $600 on his operations. He has 14 children. This $600 was probably more money than the family had seen in the last eight years.[5]

Such sales were intended to take care of the little man, but they also made timber sale supervision and coordination harder. As the war went on, forest administration became more difficult. Many men had been drafted or had enlisted. Thus, timber stand improvement work, as well as cleanup and road repair work after timber sales, were not being done.[6] An assessment of the situation in Region 8 in 1943 stated that "in general, standards of performance are poorer," largely because "many of our best men are in the armed forces and have had to be replaced with poorer ones."[7]

Even a large outfit that had been logging in the region since 1900 felt the pinch. When the supervisor of the Chattahoochee National Forest asked the Gennett Lumber Co. in September 1944 why it had left logs in an area, an agent responded:

> . . . we had not intended to abandon any scaled logs that are on Cynth Creek . . . we were forced to move over to Owl Creek so we could get men to operate. The labor situation got so critical on Cynth Creek that we could not keep things going. . . [8]

Since this forced the Forest Service to scale the area twice, a penalty was considered. The supervisor explained, "At a time when we are short of men and pushed to get the job done, the leaving of incompleted areas is costly to both you and us."[9]

As discussed earlier, land acquisition had been a major activity before the war. As late as 1937, it was felt that "the extension of government ownership in areas of low production and high watershed values as in the mountainous . . sections [of Region 8] is unquestionably desirable."[10] However, Weeks Act funds dropped dramatically, from $3 million or more per year to $354,210 in 1943, $100,000 in 1944, $75,000 in 1945, and nothing at all in fiscal year 1946.[11]

However, land exchanges continued briskly through the war period. Desirable inholdings and adjacent lands were acquired in exchange for timber from Forest Service lands, with emphasis on facilitating sustained-yield management, experimental forests, and administrative economy.[12]

One problem, which was to become of increasing significance later, first appears in reports from war years. This was the decline in personal contact between National Forest officers, especially district rangers, and the people living on or near the forests. A 1943 forest inspection report observed that, because of the volume work, "they (the rangers) know the bankers, members of service clubs, etc., but the lesser lights living on the forest are neglected."[13] Rangers already had less of what oldtimers on the Cherokee refer to as "spit-and-whittle time." Mountain people prefer those who are not in a hurry to do business, but will "set a spell," and visit.[14] Fortunately, a reservoir of goodwill between the Forest Service and mountaineers had been build up during the Depression, chiefly through the CCC. Only after the war would a lessening of such personal contacts lead to friction.

Coal Mining Revived

In addition to demands for timber, the war brought huge orders for coal, giving the few mining companies that had survived the Depression a new lease on life. As demand grew, new companies were formed, and by 1942 it was boom time again in Southern Appalachian coal country. Miners returned to the delapidated company towns, and new housing was hastily constructed. Old men, youngsters below draft age, and those with serious health problems were accepted for mine work. The military had swept up the cream of mountain youth, fortunately for many of them. However, the development of heavy-duty trucks and the "duckbill" coal loader helped reduce the need for manpower, a trend that accelerated.[15]

Depression-born attempts to diversify the economy of the coal-producing regions were wiped out by the demand of the wartime boom. As Caudill describes it:

> The whole attention of the area's population fastened again on coal. The blossoming farmers among whom County Agricultural Agents had worked so hard discarded seed sowers and lime spreaders for picks and shovels. The small but growing herds of pure-bred livestock were turned into pork and beef.[16]

The same could be said for efforts to develop the timber resources of the coal counties. Early in the war the last stands of "virgin" hardwood forest in Kentucky were cut. Only in the cutover lands purchased for the new Cumberland National Forest was any thought given to creating a sustained-yield forest that could provide a continued wood-using industry in the area.

Figure 80.—Ranger Edgar F. Wolcott, Wythe District, Jefferson National Forest, Va., talking with a local farmer in July 1958. (Forest Service photo F-487235)

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The benefits of the wartime boom, however, should not be exaggerated. As L. E. Perry, a former general ranger district assistant and fire control officer for the Forest Service on the forest, has written of the impact of the wartime economy on McCreary County, Ky.:

> The coal and lumber industry was vigorous in McCreary County but there was an exodus of the working people, even teachers, to northern plants and to the armed services. Consequently, there were shortages—of materials; manpower; money. Food and fuel were rationed. There was not enough of anything to go around. Hoarding and the blackmarket flourished . . . When at last the war was over, recovery was slow.[17]

In some areas of the Southern Appalachians, stepped-up coal and timber production continued for several years after the war. For example, in Clear Fork Valley of Claiborne County, Tenn., between the Cumberland and the Cherokee National Forests, 10 underground mines producing 750,000 tons of coal a year and employing nearly 1,400 men were still actively operating in 1950—a holdover from war production years. However, like other Southern Appalachian counties almost entirely dependent on one or two extractive industries, Claiborne succumbed to a serious postwar depression, keenly felt by the mid-1950's.[18]

Helping to hold up the postwar demand for soft coal in the eastern Kentucky and Tennessee area was a new steam power plant constructed there by the Tennessee Valley Authority. The Stearns Coal and Lumber Co. of Stearns, Ky., was alert to this new major consumer of its main product. Early in 1953 the company contacted the District Ranger at Stearns and the Supervisor of the Cumberland National Forest at Winchester. It was anxious to rework the coal seams in the 47,000 acres it had sold the Government more than 15 years earlier. Many of the old seams still contained blocks of coal close to the surface of hillsides. This coal had not been removed during earlier deep mining because of the danger of collapse of the mine tunnels. Now, with higher prices and recently developed earth-moving equipment, this coal could be recovered by strip-mining. The soil and rock cover could be dug away with power shovels and bulldozers to expose the coal for loading directly into huge trucks. The debris would be mostly dumped down the hillsides, thus clogging streams.

The Forest Supervisor, H.L. Borden, told Stearns that he was opposed to permitting strip-mining on the tract. A clause in the 1937 deed of sale for the Stearns tract reserved authority for the Forest Service to require adequate reclamation of ground surfaces disturbed by mining. Borden retired in May. He was succeeded by Robert F. Collins, who met with company officials in August and received a formal request a week later. Collins sent a copy of the request to the Eastern Regional Forester, Charles L. Tebbe, with a memo of his own urging that the request be denied. Collins pointed out that serious erosion and stream pollution would result, if approval were granted, and the action would thus be in direct violation of the stated purposes of the Weeks Act, which authorized the National Forest land purchases. In addition, he noted that a dangerous precedent would be set for National Forests throughout the East where mineral rights had been reserved. It was estimated by the Forest Service that 2,000 linear miles of strip-mining in the old Stearns tract could result from approval of the request.

The Stearns request was reviewed by the Regional Office in Philadelphia and by the Washington Office and lawyers of the Department of Agriculture. A consensus was reached, and on January 29, 1954, Tebbe officially denied the request.

On July 1, 1954, the company renewed its request, pointing out that a new Kentucky strip mine law requiring surface reclamation had just become effective, and contending that this law should provide adequate protection to the affected areas. (See Chapters VII and VIII). On July 30, Tebbe again denied the application. On August 29, Robert L. Stearns, Jr., president, appealed in person to the Secretary of Agriculture, Ezra Taft Benson, in Washington. Benson referred the request to Richard E. McArdle, Chief of the Forest Service, who again conferred with his staff and with Department lawyers. Convinced that such mining would irreparably damage the land, streams, and wildlife of the Forest, McArdle denied the appeal, which was then taken to the Secretary for a final decision.

McArdle suggested that a special board be appointed by Benson to study the situation and give an advisory, but not binding, opinion. The board would be composed of a noted leader in the national resource field, a professional mining engineer, and a public member to be chosen by the other two. Benson and Stearns agreed. The men appointed were Samuel T. Dana, who had just retired as chairman of the Department of Natural Resources at the University of Michigan; Robert L. Wilhelm, a coal operator of St. Clairsville, Ohio; and Charles P. Taft, a prominent Cincinnati attorney who was son of former President William H. Taft and brother of the Republican Senator, Robert A. Taft. The board visited the area in January 1955 and examined the sites that would be strip-mined as well as other sites being strip-mined. The board also conducted a public hearing near Stearns, which attracted wide publicity. During the entire period of this controversy the Forest Service had received many letters from the public, mostly opposing the mining project.

On May 12, 1955, the board reported to Benson that a majority recommended denial of the Stearns request. On July 22, 1955, Assistant Secretary of Agriculture Ervin L. Peterson publicly affirmed the Forest Service denial. The company decided not to appeal the decision in the courts.[19]

During the war the labor-short lumber and mining industries had tried hard, with varying success, to gain draft deferments for their skilled employees. The Gennett Oak Flooring Co. of North Carolina pleaded with the Asheville draft board to let it retain experienced workers to meet demands of the War Production Board for lumber and avert a shutdown.[20]

Wartime military service changed the outlook and lives of many. Young men often did not return permanently to the mountains. The "G.I. Bill of Rights" offered college education to those who might never have considered it. With new skills and confidence gained during military service, they worked to become teachers, engineers, pharmacists, doctors, lawyers, and football and basketball coaches. A few even studied forestry, a subject they had first come to know as teenagers in the CCC.[21]

The Tennessee Valley Authority

One New Deal program which continued to flourish during the war was the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA). Increasing needs for electric power, especially for aluminum production, quieted the opposition of industry to increased TVA power-generating capacity. In 1942 and 1943, TVA had 42,000 employees working on 12 projects throughout the Southern Appalachian region, the highest employment figure ever recorded by the agency.[22]

Most impressive of all was Fontana Dam on the Little Tennessee River high in the mountains of Swain and Graham Counties, N.C., just south of Great Smoky Mountains National Park. Fontana, the highest dam east of the Rockies, built to generate electric power for industry, was claimed to be justified by the war effort; it was rushed with a sense of urgency and high purpose. Before work could begin a road had to be built to carry in heavy construction equipment. Fontana Village, with peak population of 6,000, was built nearby for workers and their families. Work on the dam began shortly after Pearl Harbor, and for nearly 3 years men worked in round-the-clock shifts, under floodlights at night. In November 1944 the dam was finally closed and Fontana Lake began to fill, only a few months before the end of the war.[23]

Jobs were plentiful everywhere during those years; therefore to keep workers at Fontana, a model community was developed, with library, schools, a small hospital, and recreational facilities. The project manager encouraged planting of gardens and flowers as an excellent way to reduce turnover in the work force. Those who planted gardens would want to stay and see them grow.[24]

Besides hydroelectric power, TVA plants produced fertilizers, chemicals for munitions, and synthetic rubber. The cartographic section of TVA, established to design maps of the region as an aid in planning and land purchases, was used by the Army to make maps for military planning. Supplying wartime needs helped TVA maintain political independence and continue many of its long-range social goals.

The uranium processing facilities for the atomic bomb, at Oak Ridge, Tenn., just west of Knoxville in Anderson County, require brief mention. The most notable aspect of the project that mattered to the local population was that they were forced permanently out of their ancestral homes and their community was destroyed. Today many East Tennesseeans take pride in the scientific accomplishments of Oak Ridge; however, in 1941, their parents' and grandparents' prime concern was that the Army Corps of Engineers suddenly swooped in to condemn 59,000 acres of land, and abruptly evicted nearly 1,000 bewildered and resentful rural families from their homes and farms. No argument or protest was permitted; the need was considered too urgent.

> Operating under the cover name of Manhattan Engineering District, Marshall (chief of the district) and his colleagues moved quickly — too quickly for many of the people in this affected area of Tennessee. After a September site inspection by Brig. Gen. Leslie R. Groves, named in this month to head the entire Manhattan Project, a battery of Corps attorneys and surveyors entered the area and began mapping. In early October, condemnation proceedings got under way and a declaration of taking was filed in federal court at Knoxville. It called for immediate possession of the land, even though appraisals and transactions with individual owners had not yet begun.
>
> By November, residents leaving the area were passing an incoming flood of construction workers.[25]

Partially because of the population dislocation and partially because of the influx of atomic energy employees from other regions, the Knoxville area swelled in population during the 1940's. When the Oak Ridge plants were phased down during the 1950's, Knoxville experienced a net migration loss.[26]

In sum, the wartime emergency brought a temporarily booming economy to the Southern Appalachians. The natural resources of the region—timber, coal, and water power in particular—were in high demand; the labor supply to marshall the resources was short. Prices and wages were high, as the area responded to wartime needs. With an emphasis on military materiel production, certain aspects of prewar forest management, such as land acquisition (except for Oak Ridge), recreation, and conservation, were momentarily de-emphasized. These concerns, however, returned to importance when the war mobilization wound down.

Heavy Migration to Cities

The Second World War not only affected national production and employment levels, it also brought large-scale shifts in population distribution. Between 1940 and 1950 about 1 million people migrated from farms to cities, and stayed there. The national rural-to-urban migration accelerated during the 1950's, as more than 5 million persons from nonmetropolitan areas moved to Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (SMSA's). The Southern Appalachian region contributed many migrants to other regions during and after the war, as its farm population declined sharply, and manufacturing became increasingly important.

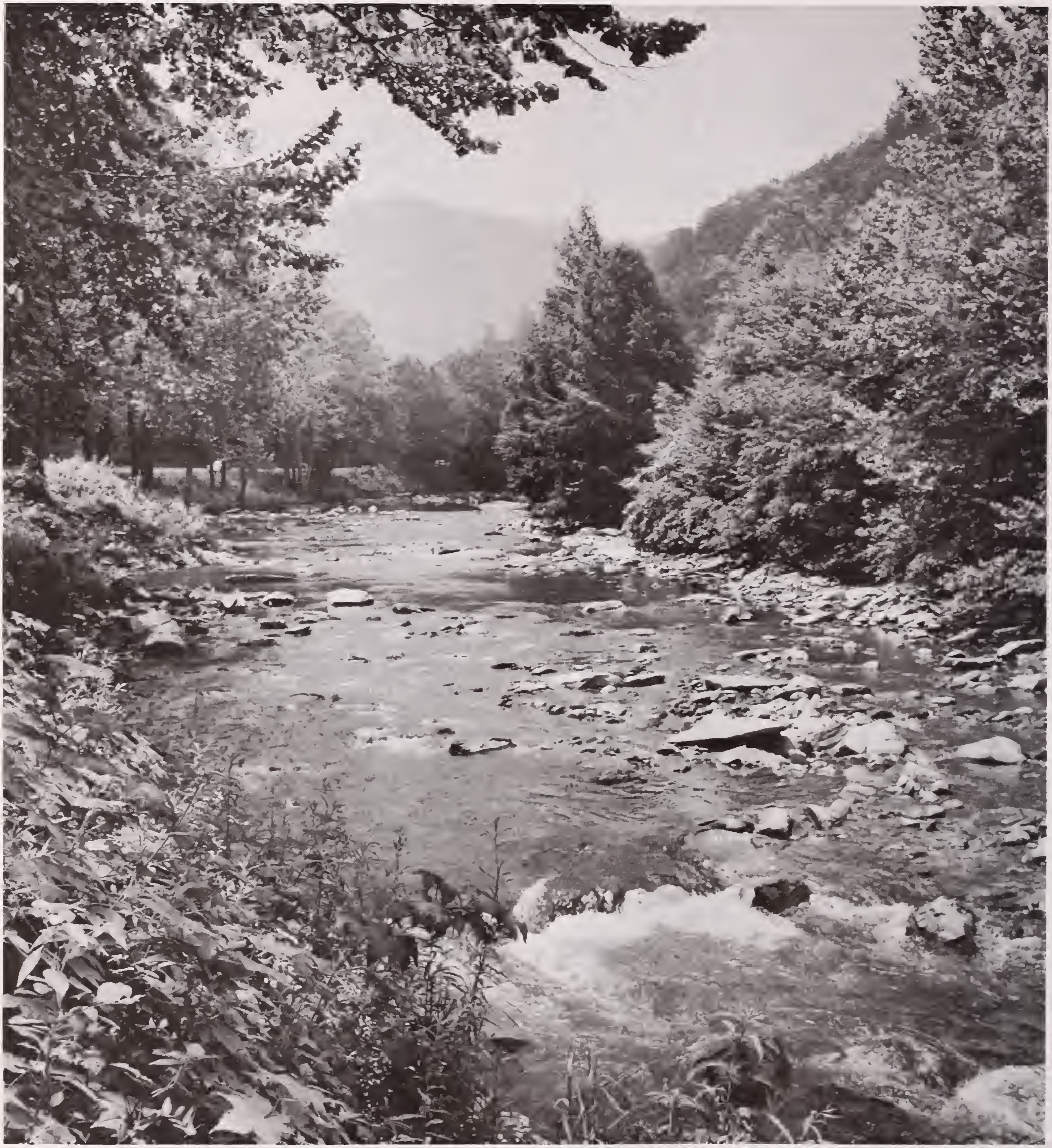


Figure 81.—Nantahala River in the Gorge above junction with Little Tennessee River and Fontana Lake, a Tennessee Valley Authority power and flood control reservoir on the border of Great Smoky Mountains National Park, Swain County, N.C., in July 1960. Nantahala National Forest. (Forest Service photo F-494664)

Population changes in the Southern Appalachians between 1940 and 1960 were particularly dramatic. Between 1940 and 1950, its rate of growth fell below 10 percent for the first time since the first census of 1790. Between 1950 and 1960, its population declined.[27] Over the 189-country area defined by the 1960 Thomas Ford study, this loss was 2.8 percent, or about 160,000 persons. Net migration loss alone (in vs. out) was 19 percent.[28] However, the change and the rate of change in population growth varied considerably. The Valley and Ridge subregion on the east side gained population, through urban-industrial growth in the broad river valleys. But the Appalachian Plateau subregion, particularly eastern Kentucky, had heavy losses, due primarily to the sharp postwar drop in coal industry employment as new technologies, and greater use of alternative fuels such as oil and gas, forced economies in the coal market. The population of the Blue Ridge subregion did not change markedly over the same period. Here, "the development of industry and tourism undoubtedly served to retard out-migration."[29]

As with the Nation as a whole, metropolitan areas of the Southern Appalachians grew more or lost population less between 1940 and 1960 than did the nonmetropolitan areas. Between 1940 and 1950, the nonmetropolitan counties gained by less than 15 percent, compared to 20 percent for the others. Between 1950 and 1960, nonmetropolitan population declined 6 percent; metropolitan population increased 7 percent.[30] The region's metropolitan gains over the two decades were minor compared to those in most such areas of the United States. In fact, between 1950 and 1960, all SMSA's of the region defined by Ford except Roanoke, although gaining population overall, experienced a net migration loss. Asheville and Knoxville lost migrants at relatively high rates.[31]

Most of the region's migration during the postwar years was between adjacent counties or within the same State. Available data on destinations of migrants into and out of the region during 1940-50 show most movement was short, intracounty or to a contiguous county. In more than 80 percent of the region, less than 20 percent of the migrants went to another State. Of those who did, the patterns were fairly regular over the two decades. Most interstate migrants from the Appalachian Plateau subregion moved to Ohio, Michigan, and Illinois. Most migrants from southwestern Virginia, if they left the state, traveled to the District of Columbia and Maryland,[32] where Federal employment offered opportunities.

In general, as with most migrations, the majority were young—between 18 and 34. Most were white, male, and above average in education. Outmigrants, especially those moving longer distances, tended to be younger than inmigrants. Thus, in the postwar period, the population of the Southern Appalachian region defined by Ford became relatively older, with more persons 65 or over. Also, because women of child-bearing age were leaving in increasing numbers, a slowing down of the region's rate of natural increase for the following decades was assured.[33]

The demographic shifts that occurred in the region during and after the war are reflected in farm statistics. Between 1940 and 1950, its rural farm population declined sharply, so that in 1950, for the first time, the rural farm population was smaller than either the rural nonfarm or urban populations.[34] During the 1940's, as many who had held onto their farms during the 1930's found employment elsewhere, the rural farm population experienced a net loss due to migration of 595,000 persons, a rate of over 28 percent. This loss was greatest in the Kentucky counties, followed by those of Tennessee.[35]

Demographic Changes Are Confirmed

For the smaller area of the Southern Appalachians on which this study focuses, the demographic changes between 1940 and 1960 were very nearly as dramatic as for the larger region defined in Ford's study. In both decades the coal counties of eastern Kentucky had the greatest outmigration losses and the greatest population shifts. Within the area with a high concentration of land in National Forests, most counties experienced a net migration loss. The greatest migration losses (40 percent or more) from 1940 to 1950 were in Kentucky: the Cumberland National Forest counties of Jackson and Wolfe; as well as in Hancock County, Tenn., a coal county, and Swain County, N.C., most of which is within the Great Smoky Mountains National Park. Other counties suffering heavy net outmigration were Polk County, Tenn., and Rabun County, Ga., both of which had a large proportion of land in National Forest; and the Kentucky counties of Estill, Lee, Morgan, Menifee, Harlan, Letcher, Perry, and Clay.[36] Between 1950 and 1960, the greatest losses from net out-migration were experienced in Lee County, Va.; Swain County, N.C.; and the eastern Kentucky counties of McCreary, Bell, Harlan, Letcher, Perry, and Leslie.[37]

In general, then, the heaviest net outmigration from the Southern Appalachians during the period from 1940 to 1960 was from coal-producing counties. That is, *population loss appears chiefly correlated with changes in the mining industry, not with changes in Federal land acquisition or land policy.* One exception stands out: Swain County, N.C. The heavy move from Swain County was forced by the closing of Great Smoky Mountains National Park to residents. Between 1940 and 1950, over 40 percent of them left, many to adjacent Sevier County, Tenn., where Gatlinburg is located. Sevier was one of the few counties to show a net migration gain.[38]

12 Counties Are Selected For Full Analysis

For a narrower focus on the demographic and economic changes that have occurred in the Southern Appalachians since World War II, we have selected a group of 12 mountain counties for further detailed analysis. This group consists of six counties with a high proportion of land in National Forests and six counties with little or no National Forest land. The former counties are considered representative of the core counties of the region. Each has a long (at least 40-year) history of Federal land acquisition and land management.

The latter group was selected as approximating many of the physical traits of the former group except for high Federal landownership. Each is mountainous (although not so much as the counties of the former group) and nonmetropolitan. Each is adjacent to or near the counties with a high proportion of National Forest. At least one county of each type was selected from all the five States of the study area. However, two of each type were selected from North Carolina, because of the presence of two National Forests there. The 12 counties are listed in table 4.

The population changes that occurred in the 12 study counties from the period 1940 to 1960 are representative of those that occurred across the greater Southern Appalachian region. These changes are shown in table 5. All 12 counties experienced net migration losses for both decades; however, from 1950 to 1960 the rate of natural increase was generally not great enough to offset the migration loss, and most counties experienced an absolute loss of population.[39] All six counties with a high proportion of National Forest land suffered population losses during the decade 1950-60; whereas, only three of the counties with little or no National Forest did. And, in the latter counties that did experience population declines—Knox, Ashe, and Hancock—the losses were generally more severe than those experienced by the counties with a high percentage of National Forest land.

The population losses in the study counties between 1950 and 1960 can only marginally be attributed to an increase in National Forest acreage. Most of the counties in question gained no more than 4 percent in National Forest land ownership over the decade, but experienced more than a 20-percent net migration loss. As with the Southern Appalachian region as a whole, the counties of eastern Kentucky—McCreary and Knox—suffered the most severe population declines.

The population changes experienced by the 12 study counties between 1940 and 1960 are reflected strikingly in farm statistics for those years, as shown in table 6. For the six counties with a high percentage of National Forest land, the number of farms declined over the two decades by a weighted average of 45 percent. For the six non-National Forest counties, the average decline was 43 percent. That is, the decline in the number of farms does not appear to be related to Federal land-ownership. The counties that experienced the greatest decrease in number of farms over the period 1940 to 1960 were McCreary, (68 percent decline), Knox (63 percent), and Buchanan (57 percent), all predominantly coal counties in the Appalachian Plateau. This pattern confirms the finding of the Ford study over the whole Southern Appalachian region that from 1940 to 1960 the Cumberland coal counties lost the greatest farm population through migration.

Table 4.—Twelve Southern Appalachian counties selected for comparison and detailed analysis: percentage of land in National Forests

County and State	National Forest	Percentage of land in National Forest 1980-1981
High proportion of National Forest		
Union County, Ga.	Chattahoochee	48
Graham County, N.C.	Nantahala	58
Macon County, N.C.	Nantahala	60
Unicoi County, Tenn.	Cherokee	46
McCreary County, Ky.	Daniel Boone (Cumberland)	45
Bland County, Va.	Jefferson	30
Little or no National Forest		
Habersham County, Ga.	Chattachoochee	22
Ashe County, N.C.	Pisgah	under 1
Henderson County, N.C.	Pisgah	7
Hancock County, Tenn.	None	None
Knox County, Ky.	Daniel Boone (Cumberland)	under 1
Buchanan County, Va.	None	None

Source: Lands Staff, Southern Region, Forest Service, USDA, Atlanta, Ga.

Table 5. — Population changes in 12 selected Southern Appalachian counties, 1940-60

County and State	Percentage change in total population		Percentage change in net migration	
	1940-50	1950-60	1940-50	1950-60
High proportion of National Forest				
Union County, Ga.	– 5.0	– 11.0	– 23.5	– 25.0
Graham County, N.C.	+ 7.0	– 6.6	– 13.4	– 25.0
Macon County, N.C.	+ 2.0	– 7.7	– 14.0	– 22.0
Unicoi County, Tenn.	+ 12.0	– 5.0	– 2.5	– 22.0
McCreary County, Ky.	+ 1.0	– 25.0	– 15.0	– 43.0
Bland County, Va.	– 4.4	– 7.0	– 15.6	– 19.0
Little or no National Forest				
Habersham County, Ga.	+ 12.0	+ 9.0	– 3.9	– 8.0
Ashe County, N.C.	– 3.5	– 10.0	– 18.2	– 25.0
Henderson County, N.C.	+ 19.0	+ 17.0	– 14.1	+ 2.8
Hancock County, Tenn.	– 19.0	– 15.0	– 30.7	– 30.0
Knox County, Ky.	– 2.0	– 17.0	– 18.6	– 32.0
Buchanan County, Va.	+ 13.6	+ 2.7	– 10.3	– 24.0

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *County and City Data Book* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1947, 1952, 1962).

Table 6.—Number of farms and total farm acreage in 12 selected Southern Appalachian counties, 1940-59

	High proportion of National Forest						Little or no National Forest					
Year	Union, Ga.	Graham, N.C.	Macon, N.C.	Unicoi, Tenn.	McCreary, Ky.	Bland, Va.	Habersham, Ga.	Ashe, N.C.	Henderson, N.C.	Hancock, Tenn.	Knox, Ky.	Buchanan, Va.
	Number of farms											
1940	1325	818	2243	1100	1675	918	1386	4153	2323	1768	3432	2420
1950	1303	759	2276	926	1162	787	1413	3886	2394	1820	2763	2341
1959	861	587	1203	741	540	552	728	3040	1368	1466	1274	1029
Pct. change 1940-59	− 36	− 28	− 46	− 33	− 68	− 40	− 47	− 27	− 40	− 17	− 63	− 57
	Farm Acreage (thousand acres)											
1945	87	40	136	41	50	126	101	247	135	120	159	163
1959	74	30	87	35	57	111	65	220	97	114	80	71
Pct. change 1945-59	− 15	− 25	− 36	− 15	+ 14	− 52	− 36	− 11	− 28	− 5	− 50	− 56

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *County and City Data Book* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1947, 1949, 1952, 1962).

Throughout the southeastern mountains, farm acreage also declined markedly during and after the war. Again, no clear differences were evident between the counties with a high proportion of National Forest land and those with little or none. In fact, of the study group of 12, the two counties that experienced the heaviest declines in farm acreage from 1945 to 1959 were Knox (50 percent) and Buchanan (56 percent), neither of which contained any National Forest acreage.

Because migration destination questions were not asked on the 1940, 1950, or 1960 Censuses, it is not possible to know where the lost farm population of the 12 southeastern mountain counties relocated. It is likely, however, that the farm migrants followed the pattern exhibited throughout the region: most settled in urbanizing areas close by—in either the same or an adjacent county—and if not, probably within the same State.

The shift in farm acreage and farm employment is also reflected in statistics on the growth of the number of manufacturing establishments and of manufacturing employment in the study counties, as shown in the table in table 7. Between 1939 and 1947/1948, the number of manufacturing establishments in the heavily national forested counties swelled. This growth, which ranged from 55 percent in Unicoi County to 1300 percent in Union County, was probably a response to wartime demands on their timber resources. Growth in the number of manufacturing establishments in the non-National-Forest counties for the same time period was not quite so pronounced. However, this latter group had more manufacturing establishments to begin with.

In general, for both sets of counties, manufacturing continued to expand throughout the 1950's, although in some counties growth slowed after the wartime spurt. For most counties, the majority of the manufacturing units were small, employing fewer than 20 persons. Henderson County had the highest percentage of large establishments (in 1954, 43 percent had 20 or more employees and 10 percent had 100 or more). On the other hand, several counties in both groups — Union, McCreary, Hancock, and Buchanan — had only small manufacturers in 1958, with fewer than 20 employees.

In terms of total number of employees, the war brought a substantial marshalling of labor into industry. In both sets of counties the number of manufacturing employees approximately doubled between 1939 and 1947. As with the number of plants, this growth was not always sustained through the 1950's. By 1958, Union, McCreary, and Unicoi Counties had fewer employees in manufacturing than they had had during wartime. The pattern of sustained growth was more clearly evident in the counties with little or no National Forests; all but Hancock and Buchanan Counties continued to grow in manufacturing employment throughout the postwar decade.

Table 7.—Changes in number of manufacturing establishments and employees in 12 selected Southern Appalachian counties, 1939-58

	High proportion of National Forest						Little or no National Forest					
	Union, Ga.	Graham, N.C.	Macon, N.C.	Unicoi, Tenn.	McCreary, Ky.	Bland, Va.	Habersham, Ga.	Ashe, N.C.	Henderson, N.C.	Hancock, Tenn.	Knox, Ky.	Buchanan, Va.
Number of manufacturing establishments												
1939	1	1	8	9	4	3	12	9	14	0	7	5
1947	13	2	18	14	18	12	41	26	37	2	12	13
1954	17	9	26	17	13	12	57	34	49	7	12	26
1958	10	7	33	16	14	25	51	46	58	4	21	31
Number of employees in manufacturing												
1939	D[1]	D	77	537	249	273	551	737	1380	0	154	53
1947	44	D	351	1378	375	206	1749	173	1739	D	357	299
1954	76	237	369	1000	159	235	2087	540	2348	27	176	199
1958	42	270	762	482	59	328	2288	1028	3322	18	320	192

[1] D = Disclosure laws prohibit publication for one or two firms only.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *County and City Data Book* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1947, 1949, 1952, 1956, 1962).

Table 8.—Number of retail establishments in 12 selected Southern Appalachian counties, 1939-58

	High Proportion of National Forest						Little or no National Forest					
	Union, Ga.	Graham, N.C.	Macon, N.C.	Unicoi, Tenn.	McCreary, Ky.	Bland, Va.	Habersham, Ga.	Ashe, N.C.	Henderson, N.C.	Hancock, Tenn.	Knox, Ky.	Buchanan, Va.
Number of units												
1939	68	46	149	153	168	58	171	229	266	87	266	364
1948	88	54	149	163	160	60	221	237	348	83	259	305
1954	48	38	154	126	104	40	164	130	356	41	194	284
1958	44	36	167	143	103	42	194	174	345	42	227	293

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *County and City Data Book* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1947, 1949, 1952, 1956, 1962).

During the 1940's and 1950's, retail establishments did not contribute to the economic well-being of the Southern Appalachians as clearly as manufacturing did. In all 12 study counties except 3, the number of retail units actually declined between 1939 and 1958, as table 8 reveals. The decline appears to have been most severe between 1948 and 1954. These years probably represent the peak period of postwar economic stagnation in the Southern Appalachians, when the war's end most severely affected the region's agricultural and industrial base, and outmigration swelled. Two decades of public relief measures, private development, and local initiative were needed to reverse the depression conditions and slow evacuation of the Southern Highlands.

Land Exchanges Replace Purchases

Land acquisition for the National Forests virtually ceased during the war. There were no regular meetings of the National Forest Reservation Commission, although "recess approval" was given for several purchases on which work had begun before the war.

On February 7, 1947, the NFRC held its first postwar meeting. Congress appropriated $3,000,000 for forest purchases in 1947, and the prewar program of acquisition in existing purchase units was renewed. However, appropriations for land purchase steadily declined during the remaining years of the Truman administration. In 1948, appropriations were only $750,000; by 1951, they dropped to $300,000.[40] The Commission did not resume the close supervision of land acquisition and the policymaking functions it had often assumed before the Second World War. Purchases were routinely approved by recess action and, when actual meetings were held, Cabinet members and other important figures were represented by deputies rather than attending in person, as had been customary before the war. The most important land purchase program was in the Superior National Forest of Minnesota for the Boundary Waters Canoe Area.[41]

Because funds were so limited and other regions had priority on forest purchases, land and timber exchanges played an increasingly important role in the consolidation of the Southern Appalachian National Forests and in efforts to add to the existing purchase units in the region.

Just after World War II many exchanges involved surplus military land. In 1949 the Forest Service gave 278 acres in the Chattahoochee National Forest, on which Camp Toccoa had been constructed during the war, to the War Assets Administration in exchange for 654 acres of surplus military land under its jurisdiction. The War Assets Administration later sold Camp Toccoa to the State of Georgia for conversion to a mental hospital.[42]

The Forest Service also obtained some postwar National Forest acreage through the Surplus Property Act of 1944.[43] Lands that had been acquired through bankruptcy or condemnation proceedings by the Federal Farm Mortgage Corp. could be purchased by the Forest Service. These lands were often bankrupt farms, abandoned and unproductive, or acreage owned by a bankrupt corporation. For example, in 1947 the Forest Service acquired 1,830.62 acres in the Jefferson National Forest that had been acquired by the Federal Farm Mortgage Corp. in condemnation proceedings against the bankrupt Triton Chemical Co. of Botetourt County, Va. The Forest Service paid $8,200.37, or about $4.50 per acre, for the tract.[44]

In efforts to substitute exchanges for the almost nonexistant land purchase funds, the Forest Service worked out some complicated tripartite exchanges involving land and timber. One such deal involved 7,603.7 acres of land belonging to the Vestal Lumber and Manufacturing Co. in Greene, Washington, and Unicoi Counties, Tenn., within the Cherokee National Forest. The land, which was cutover and contained only some poor, second-growth timber, was exchanged for an equal value of National Forest timber. However, the Vestal Co. itself was not going to cut the timber; it would simply receive payment from third parties who contracted for the timber. The exchange was delayed and threatened because Vestal wanted funds from the timber sales by a specified date. This the Forest Service could not promise, but the exchange was finally consummated in September 1956.[45]

In some cases, lands were purchased for the purpose of exchanging them for desired Forest Service acreage. For example, in 1953 the State of Georgia bought 239.15 acres of land in Union and Towns Counties. The land was described as "isolated, inaccessible, and of no known value to the state," but the State knew that it lay within the boundaries of the Chattahoochee National Forest and that the Forest Service wanted to acquire it. In 1956 Georgia exchanged this land for 105.10 acres in White County, which made possible the expansion of the White County Area State Park.[46]

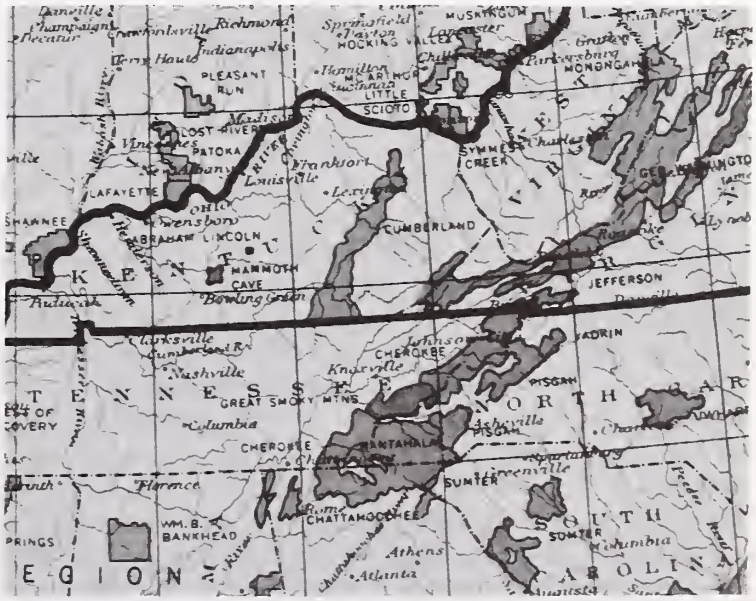


Figure 82.—The National Forests and Purchase Units, and the National Parks of the Southern Appalachian Mountains in 1948. Only changes from 1940 are the name of the Black Warrior National Forest in Alabama (not in the mountains) to William B. Bankhead, the spelling of Uharie to Uwharrie in North Carolina, and a new unit added to the Chattahoochee National Forest in Georgia. (Forest Service map and photo)

On rare occasions during this time, the Forest Service received land donations, generally small, of 50 or fewer acres. In 1948, Mrs. Cornelia Vanderbilt Cecil, daughter of George Vanderbilt, who lived in London, England, donated 2.6 acres within the Pisgah National Forest to the Forest Service. The Lincoln Investment Corp. donated two tracts totaling 47.2 acres in Smythe County, Va., valued at $127.45.[47] One donation in the Jefferson National Forest reflected strong concern of local residents for conservation and ecology. The Virginia Commission of Game and Inland Fisheries planned to build a 65-acre lake in the Corder Bottom Area of the Clinch Ranger District. Only 50 acres of the lake were within the National Forest; 15 were in private ownership. The local Izaak Walton League chapter and the Norton Chamber of Commerce purchased the 15 acres, as well as a protective strip and mineral rights. These they donated to the Forest Service in September 1956, and thus assured that access to the lake would be entirely within the National Forest boundaries.[48]

Whether lands were purchased, exchanged, or even donated, the problem of extensive delays in the acquisition process continued. One striking example was in the Cumberland National Forest around 1950. After some negotiation, a widow, Mrs. Eva Kidd, agreed to sell 226.7 acres in McCreary County, Ky. She did not have clear title, so the land was acquired through condemnation proceedings. The Forest Service deposited payment, $680.70, with the court for disbursement, but for some reason Mrs. Kidd was not paid. Three years later, frustrated and annoyed, she visited the district ranger "once and sometimes twice a week insisting on settlement." The Forest Supervisor wrote to ask the U.S. Attorney in Lexington to make sure Mrs. Kidd got her money. Finally, in September 1953, a check was mailed to her, but sadly, she had died on September 7 so the check was returned.[49]

Another example of the frustrations involved in the land acquisition and exchange process is the case of Dr. Bernhard Edward Fernow, one of four sons of Bernhard Eduard Fernow, Chief of the Division of Forestry in the U.S. Department of Agriculture before Gifford Pinchot. Dr. Fernow, a mechanical engineer, purchased a summer cabin near Highlands, Macon County, N.C., in 1948. Slightly under an acre of the tract on which the cabin was situated encroached on Nantahala National Forest land; Fernow was asked to continue payment of $25 per year for a special-use permit to occupy the land.

A year later Fernow wished to purchase the acre. His request was denied by the Regional Forester, because Federal law forbade it. However exchange of land of equal value was permitted. So, Fernow then initiated requests to exchange other acreage for the desired 1 acre at his cabin site, but had considerable difficulty locating suitable land to exchange. The Forest Service valued the acre in question at $1,500 (the cost of a typical vacation site in the Highlands area in the early 1950's). Fernow, on the other hand, referred to the tract as no more than an "acre of rock."

After years of correspondence, negotiation, and finally the intercession of a South Carolina congressman and the Chief of the Forest Service, the matter was settled in 1957, 8 years after Fernow's original request for exchange. Dr. Fernow exchanged several tracts he had purchased in neighboring Jackson County, N.C., totaling 112.8 acres, for the 0.9 acre he desired for his summer cabin.[50]

After the election of Dwight D. Eisenhower as President in 1952, the Forest Service was uncertain what changes would accompany the end of 20 years of Democratic administration. The new (Republican) National Forest Reservation Commission met for the first time on June 17, 1954. Assistant Secretary of Agriculture J. Earl Coke explained that, "the department recommended to Congress that additional money for purchases under the Weeks Law not be provided, but Congress included some funds for this purpose so that the program will continue."[51] Some land funds were available through other programs, but Weeks Act purchases were limited to $75,000 for fiscal year 1954, the lowest since 1945. The major emphasis was on acquisition of Indian lands for the Chippewa National Forest in Minnesota.

The NFRC did not meet again until April 1956, though some purchases were approved by recess action in the interim.[52] Major actions were taken at the 1956 meeting. Eight purchase units were abolished and the boundaries of a number of others were changed. In general, the changes made the units smaller, though there were some exceptions. Land in Madison and Haywood counties, N.C., was eliminated from the Pisgah National Forest Purchase Unit. The Chattahoochee

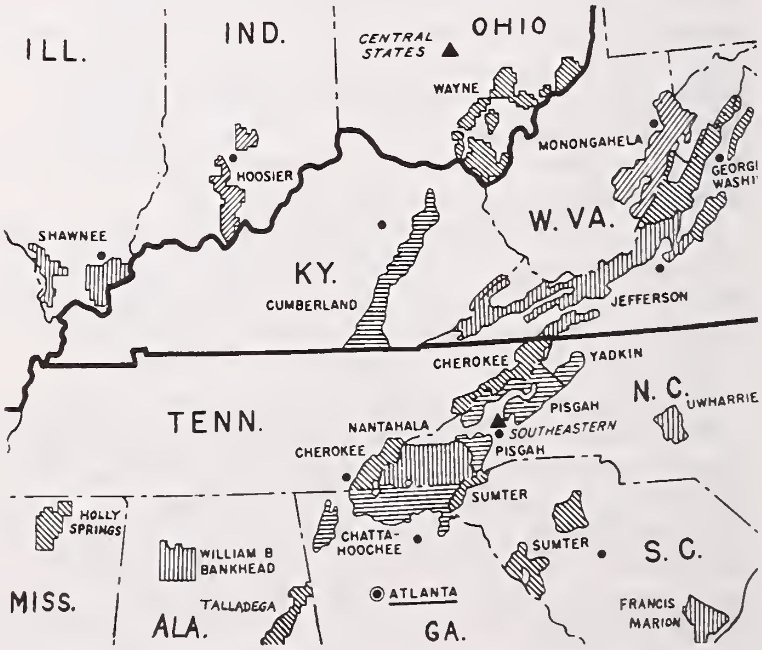


Figure 83.—The National Forests and Purchase Units of the Southern Appalachian Mountains in 1958-59. The Purchase Units in Ohio and Indiana had become the Wayne and Hoosier National Forests, respectively. The areas of the Chattahoochee and Pisgah forests were reduced. Yadkin and Uwharrie in North Carolina were still Purchase Units. Black triangles are Forest Experiment Station headquarters of the Forest Service. Black dots are National Forest headquarters. Atlanta is regional headquarters. (Forest Service map and photo)

National Forest lost prospective additions to territory in Dade, Walker, Catoosa, Fannin, White, Banks, and Stephens Counties. A small addition was made in Habersham County to provide for better road access. Although tracts of land might still be acquired for consolidation, no real expansion of the units in the mountain forests was anticipated. Ironically, the recreation value of lands within or adjacent to the National Forests was now so high that the Forest Service could rarely afford to purchase such tracts. By improving its own lands, the Forest Service had enhanced the value of its neighbors' lands as well.

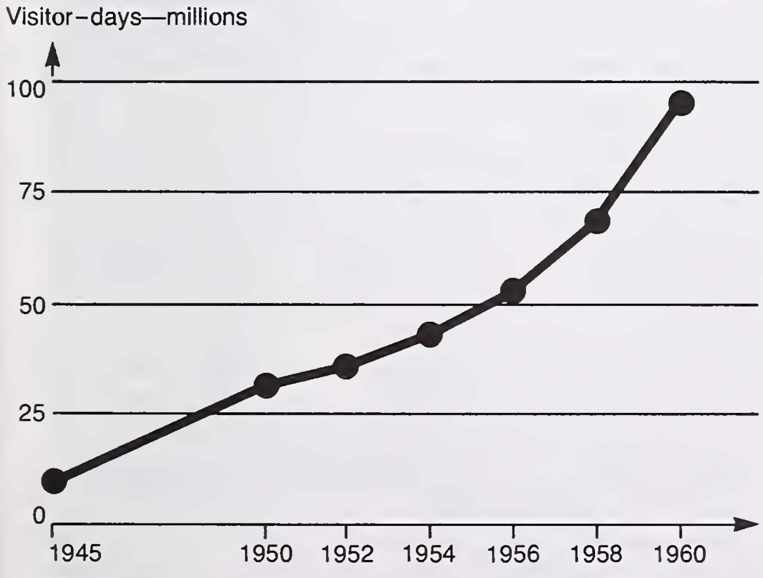
Thus, in the 15-year period that followed World War II, the impact of Federal land acquisition on the people of the Southern Appalachians was considerably less than it had been before the war. However adjacent landowners benefited from rapidly rising land values.

The number of Federal land purchases was far smaller than it had been during the New Deal, and exchanges were more likely to involve a land or lumber company, or a State or local government, than an individual. Further, the exchange program was slow and cumbersome. Nevertheless, the 1959 regional report recommended more use of "land for timber and tripartite procedures for acquisition of key holdings."[53] These exchanges could be maddeningly difficult to set up, but they became the best way of adding land to improve forest administration.

Local attention to Federal land agencies during the postwar decades more often focused on the Tennessee Valley Authority, which became increasingly visible and controversial during the Eisenhower presidency than it previously had been. Republicans generally did not favor public electric power development, and charges were made that industries had been "lured" to the Tennessee Valley by cheap subsidized power. Such charges were never substantiated, but TVA remained on the defensive.[54]

In addition, TVA's practice of transferring its lands to other governmental agencies drew attention to the condemnations of the 1930's and early 1940's. The Supreme Court had decided in 1946 that such transfer did not mean that TVA had illegally condemned unnecessary land. But large land transfers or sales still raised questions in local people's minds about the necessity for some of the earlier condemnations.[55] Most of the TVA transfers involved land originally acquired for TVA forests or for recreational development. However, because there had been some success in encouraging private landowners to carry out reforestation, original plans for TVA forests had been abandoned, except for one experimental tract. TVA policy favored leaving recreation development to other agencies or to local or private enterprise. Several large reservoir lakeside areas were sold or turned over to other governmental agencies for recreation use. For example, between 1947 and 1951, TVA relinquished nearly 11,000 acres of land south of Fontana Dam to the Nantahala National Forest.[56]

Figure 84.—Number of Recreational Visits to All National Forests, 1945–60



Source: *Federal Agencies and Outdoor Recreation*, ORRRC Study Report 13. A Report to the Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission by the Frederic Burk Foundation for Education, Washington, D.C., 1962, pp. 21, 22. A visitor-day=one person for 12 hours, 12 persons for 1 hour, or any equivalent combination.

Outdoor Recreation Use Skyrockets

Shortly after Pearl Harbor, many Federal agencies had begun comprehensive studies to plan projects to provide work that would ease the expected strains on labor and the economy in the shift from military to civilian production. Great effort and time were expended in making detailed long-range plans. The Forest Service was much involved in this work. It was recognized that a tremendous backlog of maintenance and improvement had built up during the war, particularly for recreation. It was considered urgent to reverse destructive logging which the war had encouraged.[57] Little came of these plans as the economy took care of itself, and the Forest Service gave up trying to regulate logging on non-Federal lands. It was also a decade before funds were again available to deal adequately with public recreation demands. In the Southern Appalachian forests, campgrounds and picnic areas built by the CCC, some of them already 10 or more years old, received increasingly heavy use after the end of the war. Families used accumulated savings to buy cars as soon as they became available. Gasoline was no longer rationed. More and more people took vacation trips into the mountains. Forest Service recreation development plans, shelved in 1941, were brought out again.

Even before World War II, recreational use of the National Forests had increased steadily. Between 1925 and 1940, visists to National Forests for recreational purposes rose from 5.6 million to 16 million.[58]

After World War II, recreational visits increased far more dramatically, as the graph in figure 84 reveals.

Thus, for National Forests as a whole, recreational visits increased by 400 percent (five times) between 1945 and 1956, and by over 900 percent (10 times) between 1945 and 1960. Much of this increase was in National Forests of the West. Region 8 had only a 188-percent increase in recreational use between 1945 and 1956 (less than threefold). However, within the Southern Appalachians such use increased much faster; in North Carolina it rose 333 percent (more than four times).[59]

With the end of the World War II, the recreational potential of National Forest lands was recognized by resort developers and promoters as well as those within the Forest Service. The issues involved in resort development in or near the National Forests can be seen in connection with one proposed development on a peninsula in Lake Santeetlah in Graham County, N.C., in the Nantahala National Forest. The developer, a Miami realtor, wished to exchange over 2,000 acres of forest land in the county adjacent to the National Forest for this 136-acre tract. He intended to build a 25-room resort hotel. Because the case was potentially precedent-setting, it drew the attention of the Acting Chief of the Forest Service, who discussed some of the problems in a memo to the Regional Forester.

First, he explained that the Forest Service "has gone to considerable effort and expense to acquire control of shore lines on lakes having substantial recreational values," to insure that development was "appropriate."

> Another consideration is that this apparently contemplates the installation of a high-priced and rather exclusive resort. By reference to the policy statement under the heading of Purpose on page NF-G-3(6) of the recreation section of the National Forest Manual, you will note that such installations require special justification. Our general policy is to favor more modest types, catering to persons of moderate means.[60]

On the other hand, the memo pointed out, "the opportunity to acquire a substantial area of forest land in the trade is not lightly to be dismissed."[61]

The decision was left to the Regional Forester. In order to gauge the value of the peninsula, he considered opening the land to vacation cottages. The Forest Service had been leasing sites for vacation homes since the 1920's. At first, demand was small; few families could afford second homes, and transportation was difficult. Although vacation home sites would appear to serve the needs of "persons of modest means" even less than would a resort hotel, they were a familiar form of recreation use in the forests. Study showed, however, that the Santeetlah peninsula was unsuitable for vacation homes. Furthermore, the hotel development had "the strong support of the leading citizens of Robbinsville who believe it will make a material contribution to the welfare of their community."[62] The Regional Forester supported the resort development, and by 1947 the land exchange was consummated.

Local political leaders, such as Governor Cherry of North Carolina, also recognized the potential of the National Forests for tourism and recreation. In an October 1947 speech before the Asheville Board of Conservation and Development, the Governor noted that the Forest Service had cooperated with the State in the development of roads to scenic areas in the mountains. Such roads, he believed, would contribute to the growth of tourism and bring money to the State's mountain people. Such cities as Asheville had long profited from tourism, and hoped to profit still more in the postwar years.[63]

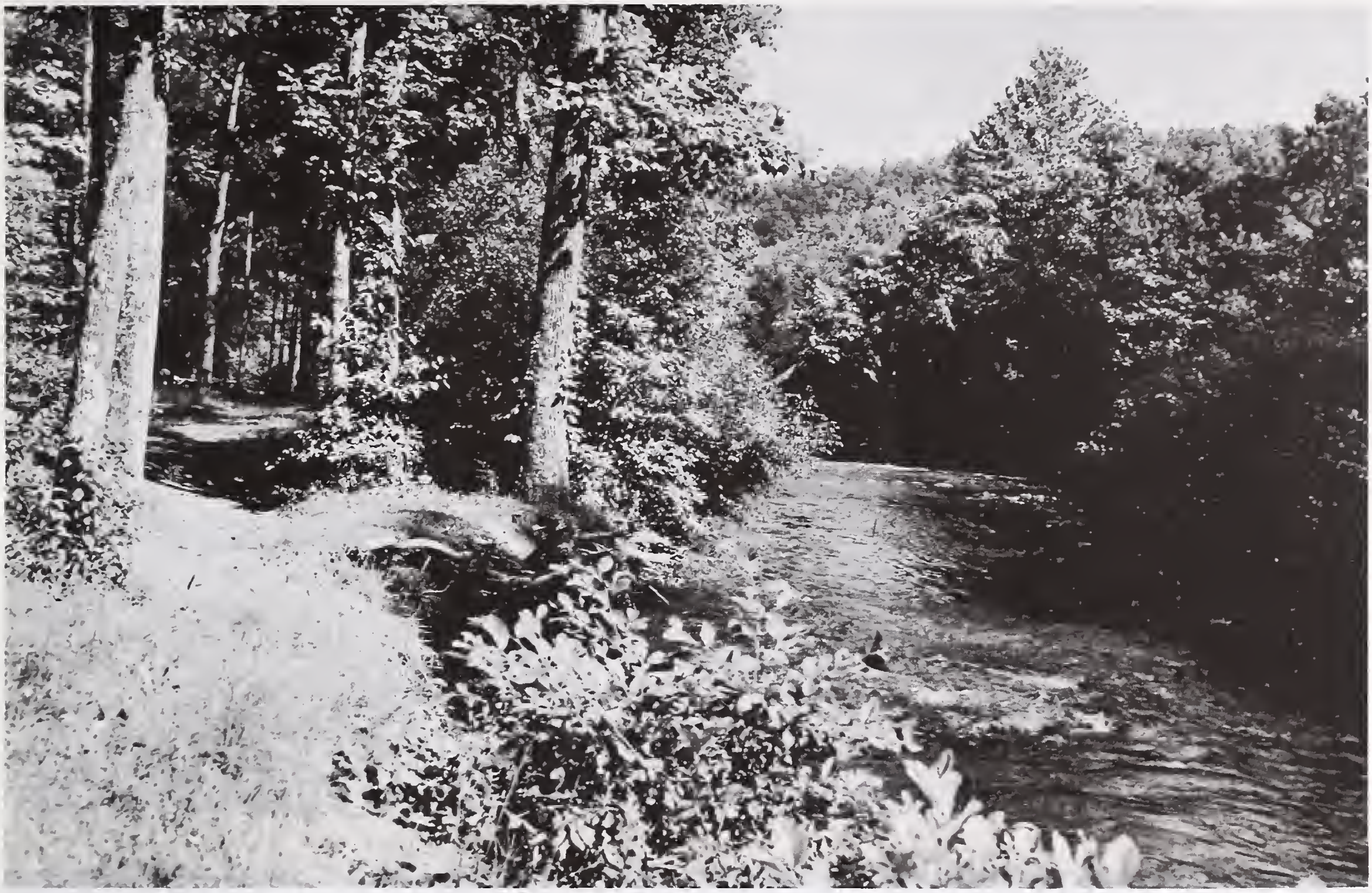
How Much Recreational Development?

One of the principal issues relating to postwar recreation was the degree to which the Forest Service should develop recreational facilities. A major advantage of development was that visitors could well become supporters of the National Forests and of conservation. Tourists and picnickers could learn the beauties of these forests, formerly reserved for hunters, fishermen, and a few hikers. A major disadvantage was cost. Even picnic areas and camping grounds required appropriations; elaborate facilities and paved roads were big investments. Should National Forests develop recreation areas or lease concessions for facilities? And, however financed, what types of recreational developments were most appropriate?

In 1947, 168 recreational developed areas had been built in the National Forests of the Southern Region. About half the developments were small — picnic areas and campgrounds. Forty-five of the areas were quite elaborate, some even including swimming pools. Selected recreational areas were considered of outstanding beauty, especially Cliffside on the Nantahala National Forest and North Mills Creek on the Pisgah. Equally well-planned areas in the southern-pine forests of the Piedmont and Coastal Plain were not so attractive or so heavily used. The natural scenic setting of the Southern Appalachian region contributed as much as the planned development to its attractiveness for recreation seekers, and the mountain forests thus had a distinct recreational advantage.[64]

The attractiveness of the Southern Appalachians was demonstrated by recreation cost and use figures for the region. In 1947, less than a third of Region 8's investment in recreation development was devoted to the Appalachian forests, but they had two-thirds of the recreation use in the Region. Many of the recreation areas had been refurbished in 1946 with rehabilitation funds made available in that year to repair the consequences of wartime neglect.[65]

Although the Forest Service developed numerous recreational facilities in the South, and although many questions were arising concerning basic policies, including the types and scale of new recreational development to be pursued, recreation as a form of land use was then not integrated with the resource management plans for either the individual forests or the Southern Region itself. The authors of the Region 8 General Integrating Inspection Reports (men from the Washington headquarters) commented on the development within the Region of master land-use priority plans organized



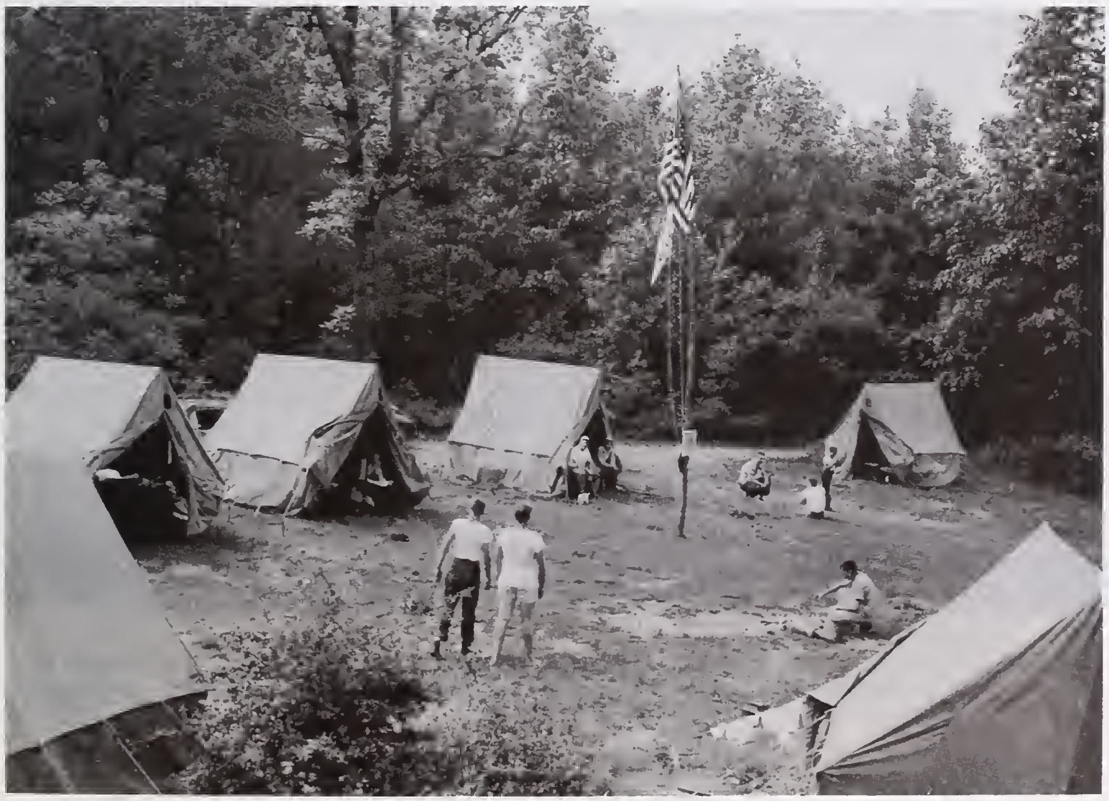
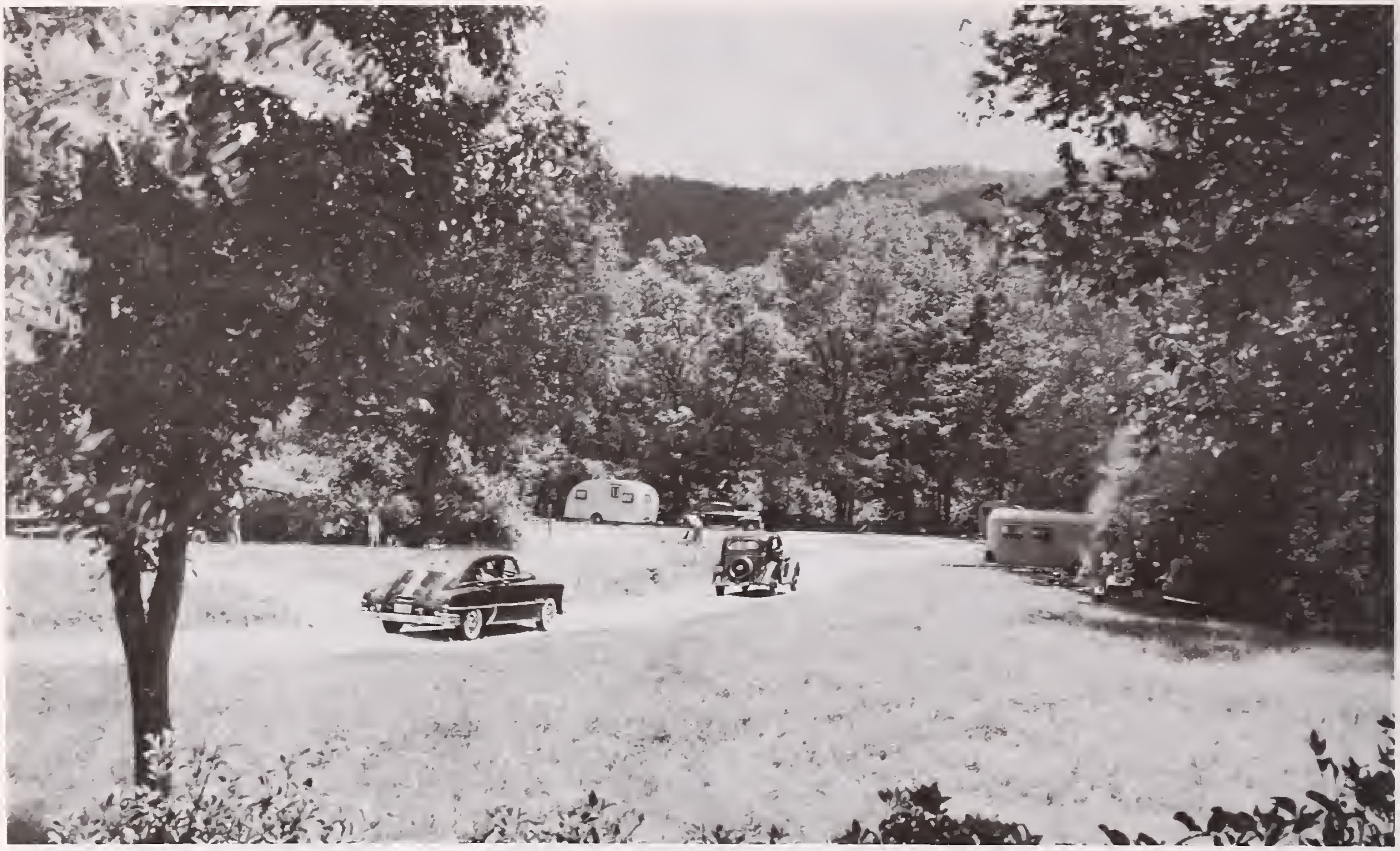


Figure 85.—Foot trail beside North Fork of Mills River, a recreation area on Pisgah National Forest between Hendersonville and Asheville, N.C., a short distance from the "Pink Beds," "Cradle of Forestry," and Blue Ridge Parkway, in August 1949. (Forest Service photo F-458635)

Figure 86.—Boy Scout camp site leased under Forest Service special-use permit at Lake Winfield Scott, a Tennessee Valley Authority power and flood control reservoir on Chattahoochee National Forest, North Georgia, in May 1949. (Forest Service photo F-458505)



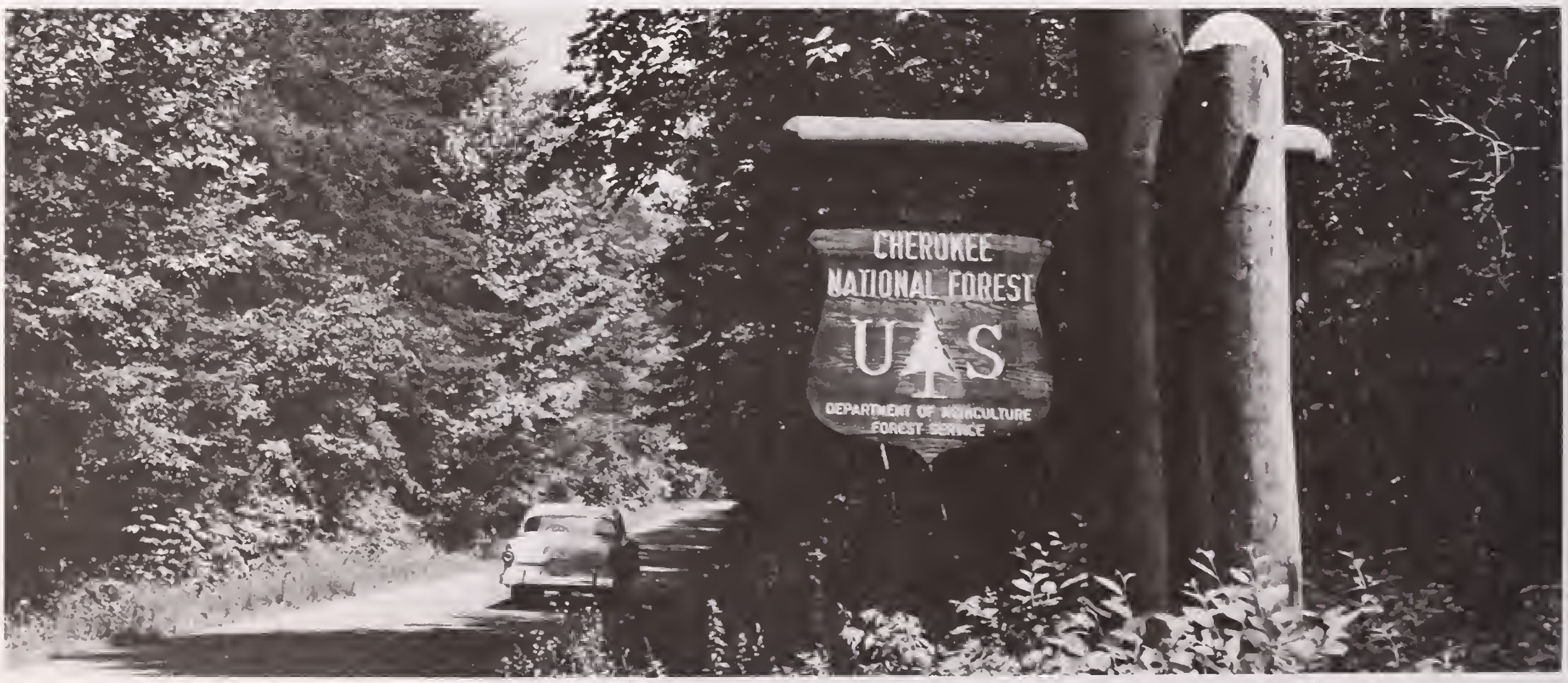

CHEROKEE
NATIONAL FOREST
U S
DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
FOREST SERVICE

Figure 87.—House trailer camping area in the "Pink Beds," Pisgah National Forest, N.C., in August 1949. (Forest Service photo F-458631)

Figure 88.—Cherokee National Forest sign on Tellico River Road, Tellico Ranger District, Tenn., May 1957. (Forest Service photo F-486254)

by watersheds. These plans were intended to serve as benchmarks for the formation of resource management plans for the individual ranger districts within each forest. It was considered noteworthy that:

> On some areas of the Pisgah District water and game were given priority over timber; in other words, customary cutting practices for the type were to be modified to favor the higher priority uses. We think this is a constructive approach, worthy of active expansion.[66]

Even putting water and game ahead of growing timber was a novel practice at the time, for heavily timbered forests. Policymakers in 1948 were preparing to plan for intensive recreational use in a large number of locations. Comprehensive recreation plans, however, were still in the future.

Thus, to a certain degree, as the Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission noted in 1962:

> It seems likely that the Forest Service was . . . pushed into recreational activities in self-defense. People discovered the recreational values of the forests and used them with the result that the Forest Service found itself attempting to "manage" recreation to minimize fire hazards, stream pollution, and hazards to the recreationists themselves. Once having become involved, Forest Service personnel apparently adapted themselves to the situation and tried to make the most of it.[67]

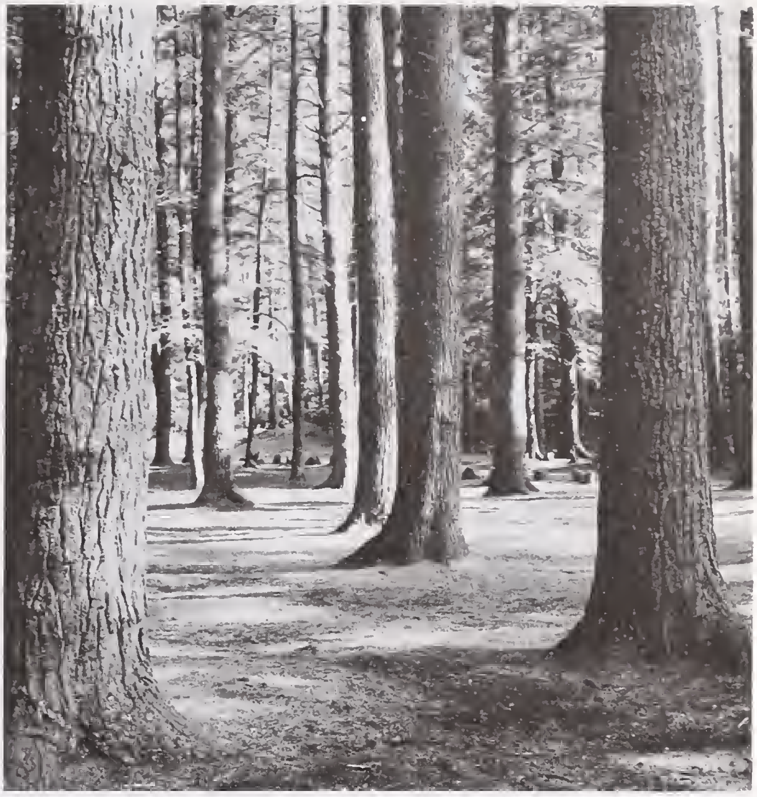


Figure 89.—Stand of mature white pine and hemlock trees in Laurels Recreation Area, Cherokee National Forest, on Stone Mountain, Unicoi-Carter County line, Unaka Ranger District, near Johnson City, Tenn., in June 1951. Dense tree canopy has provided a park-like atmosphere. Overnight shelters, picnic tables, and toilets are provided here. (Forest Service photo F-469300)

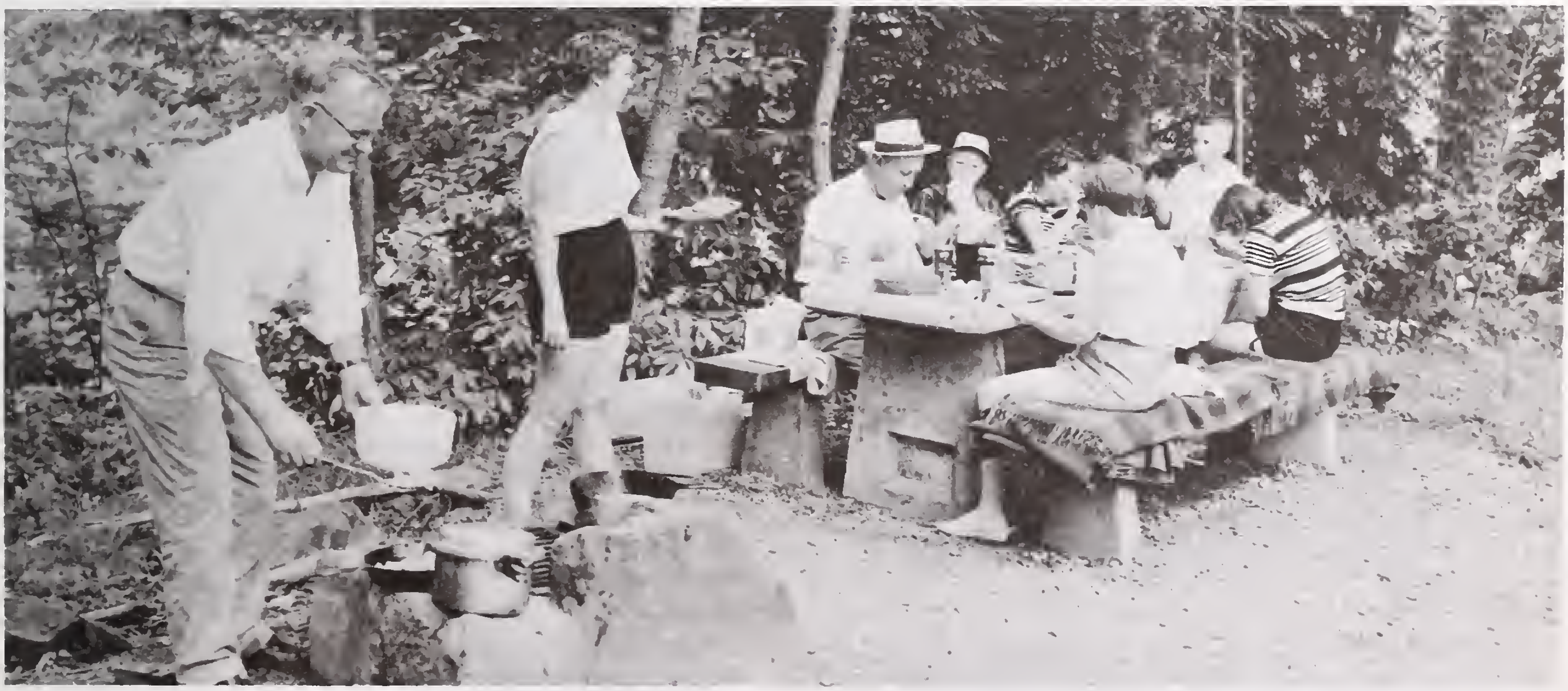


Figure 90.—Picnicking family at recreation area on Tellico River, Cherokee National Forest, Monroe County, Tenn., in May 1957. Cement tables and benches reduced maintenance and vandalism. (Forest Service photo F-486263)

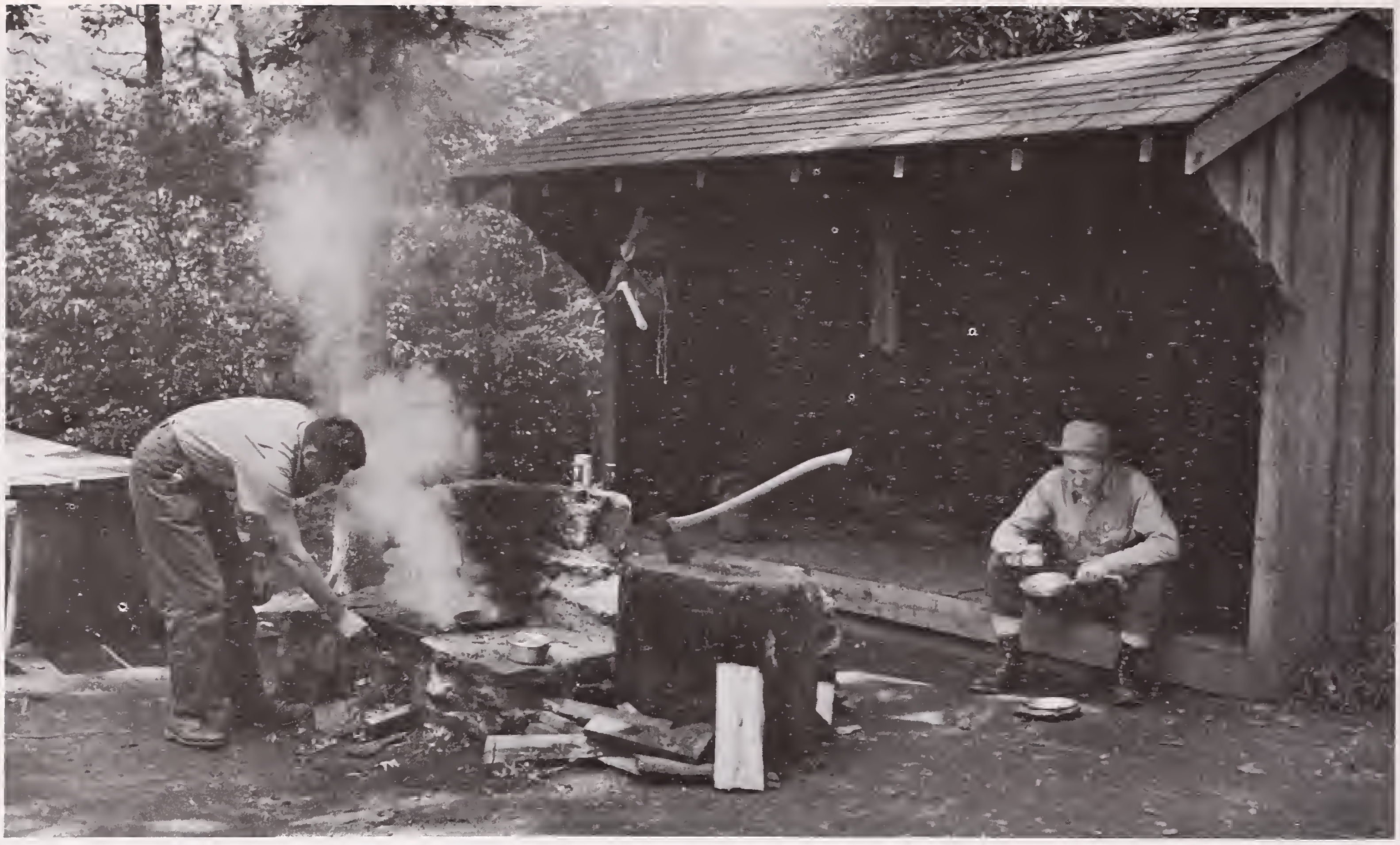


Figure 91.—Hikers camping overnight at one of 12 shelters on Appalachian Trail, Nantahala National Forest, N.C., between the Chattahoochee National Forest (Ga.) and Great Smoky Mountains National Park, in July 1960. (Forest Service photo F-494685)

In the late 1940's and during the 1950's, facility overuse became critical. As recreational visits to National Forests soared, more funds were provided but not enough for the policing and maintenance necessary. (In 1950, only $2 million were appropriated for all Forest Service recreation — maintenance, construction, and development.)
Thus, the problems of roads and parking, litter and refuse, impure drinking water, and fires often became acute.[68]

In the Southern Appalachians, the recreation areas of Bent Creek, near Asheville, and Arrow Wood, outside Franklin, N.C., suffered particularly heavy use and required extra maintenance and patrolling. Throughout the Southern Region, vandalism was "widespread," in some locations "serious." The Forest Service considered night guards or appealing to "decent people in the neighborhood to handle the situation."[69]

Closely related to recreational overuse was the problem of defining who the forests should serve. As early as 1940, the demands of two different publics were noted in a Forest Service document:

> Under some circumstances, as in the Talledega country in [northern] Alabama, [near Birmingham] costly recreational developments are primarily designed to serve residents of nearby cities and agricultural valleys, but are very poorly adapted to actual residents living in the "hollows" within the National Forest boundary. But in other instances, the development of simple picnic grounds is greatly appreciated by local residents who are high enough in the economic scale to own vehicles for transportation to such recreational grounds.[70]

These observations could well have been written about the forests of the Southern Appalachians.

In the 1950's, forest officers often accepted unquestioningly the idea that the National Forests were a national possession and belonged to "the people." However, increasingly there were two distinct groups, often with conflicting interests, who could claim to be "the people" to whom the forests belonged. When the needs and interests of recreation users from outside areas came into conflict with those of the local mountain residents, whose interests should come first? Recreation users from urban areas could point out that the National Forests belonged to all the people. Local citizens could argue that the needs of those who resided permanently in the area and made their living in or near the forests should have priority over occasional visitors whose only purpose was pleasure. Most forest officers hoped that the needs of both groups could continue to be met and that they would not have to face the unpopular task of assigning priorities.

Woods Burning Remains a Problem

In the Southern Appalachians during the 1950's, management focused on balancing the multiple demands of an expanding public with the needs of the people living in and adjacent to the forests. Fire control, timber sales, and annual fee charges for special-use permits for those dwelling and farming on National Forest land brought the Forest Service and the mountaineer together most frequently.

During the 1930's, as forest officers increasingly found themselves having to deal with people on the forests, they had turned to "people experts" and to occasional careful studies of the local population. Because they saw fire prevention as so vital to the forests in the South, they especially sought the reasons behind deliberate woods burning. Although the Forest Service had had an active program of involving the local population in fire control activities through the fire warden system, forest fires continued to plague forest officers throughout the South. The Forest Service hired a psychologist to study attitudes toward woods burning on one Southern forest, the Talladega in Alabama. He submitted his reports in 1939-40, but their real impact was delayed until wartime activities-came to an end. His work was widely distributed and respected, though it was primarily based on study of the people of only one forest.[71]

The psychologist had concluded that the basic cause of fire setting was boredom and frustration among the local people. He noted the role of tradition in passing, as in the title of his article "Our Pappies Burned the Woods," but his cure for fire setting was a plan to alleviate boredom. His principal recommendation was the creation of community centers for social, recreational, and educational purposes. Compared to other studies of the mountaineer personality, his work seems superficial and his policy recommendations were of doubtful value. There were certainly similarities between the people of the Alabama hills and those of the Southern Appalachian mountains, but there were as many differences. Even among the forests covered by this study, there were quite noticeable differences in the people and their attitudes, especially on the question of use and control of fire. There were differences between those who lived on the older forests and those in the new forest areas established in the 1930's.

The psychologist stated his conclusions in broad terms:

> The roots of the fire problem obviously go deep into the culture, the traditions and the customs of these people and their frustrated lives. It is well established in psychology that groups and individuals when frustrated express themselves by harmful acts, called aggression, either against other humans or against their environment . . . These intentional fires of the malicious type, however, are in the minority. Non-malicious woods-buring constitutes the major cause growing out of a survival of the pioneer agrarian culture originally based on economic grounds. With the closing in of the agrarian environment, it has become predominantly a recreational and emotional impulse . . . The sight and sound and odor of burning woods provide excitement for a people who dwell in an environment of low stimulation and who quite naturally crave excitement. Fire gives them distinct emotional satisfactions which they strive to explain away by pseudo-economic reasons that spring from defensive beliefs. Their explanations that woods fires kill off snakes, boll weevils and serve other economic ends are something more than mere ignorance. They are the defensive beliefs of a disadvantaged culture group.[72]

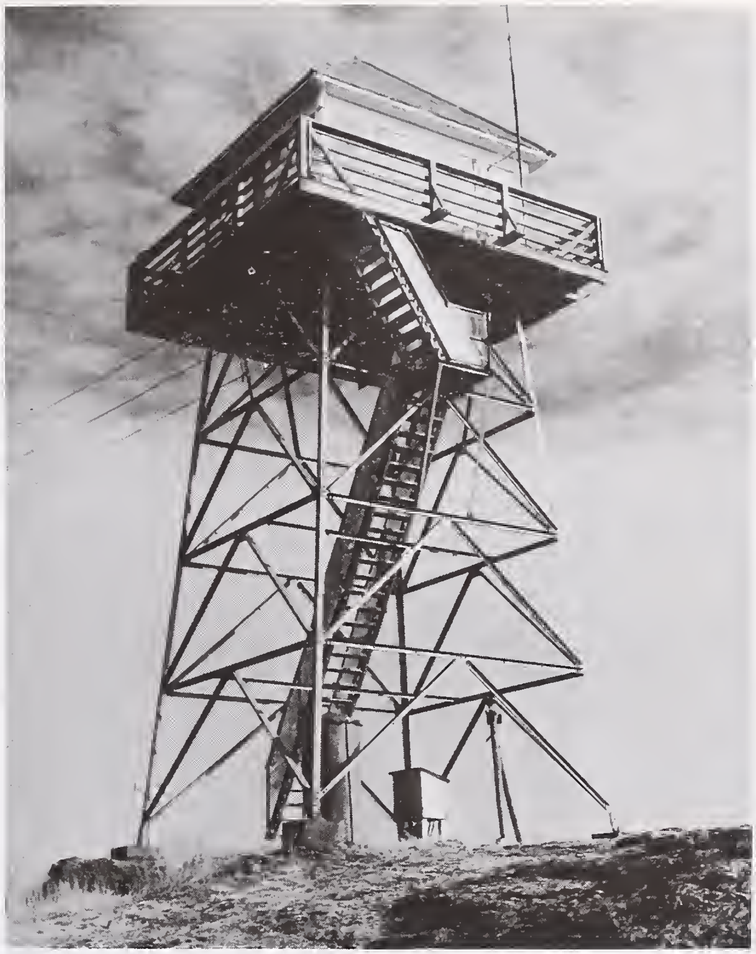


Figure 92.—Steel lookout tower on Black Mountain near Woody Gap, Suches, Ga., on Chattahoochee National Forest, December 1952. Chestatee (formerly Blue Ridge) Ranger District. (Forest Service photo F-470980)

Noteworthy was the study's refusal to accept the reasons for woods burning given by the people themselves, and the apparent assumption that woods burning was important to the people. The study was made because fire prevention was a major aim of the Forest Service in the South, but whether it was really important to the woods-burners was not clearly determined. Were the fires subsidiary results of brush clearing or hunting? Or were they considered a necessary part of life to southern rural people?

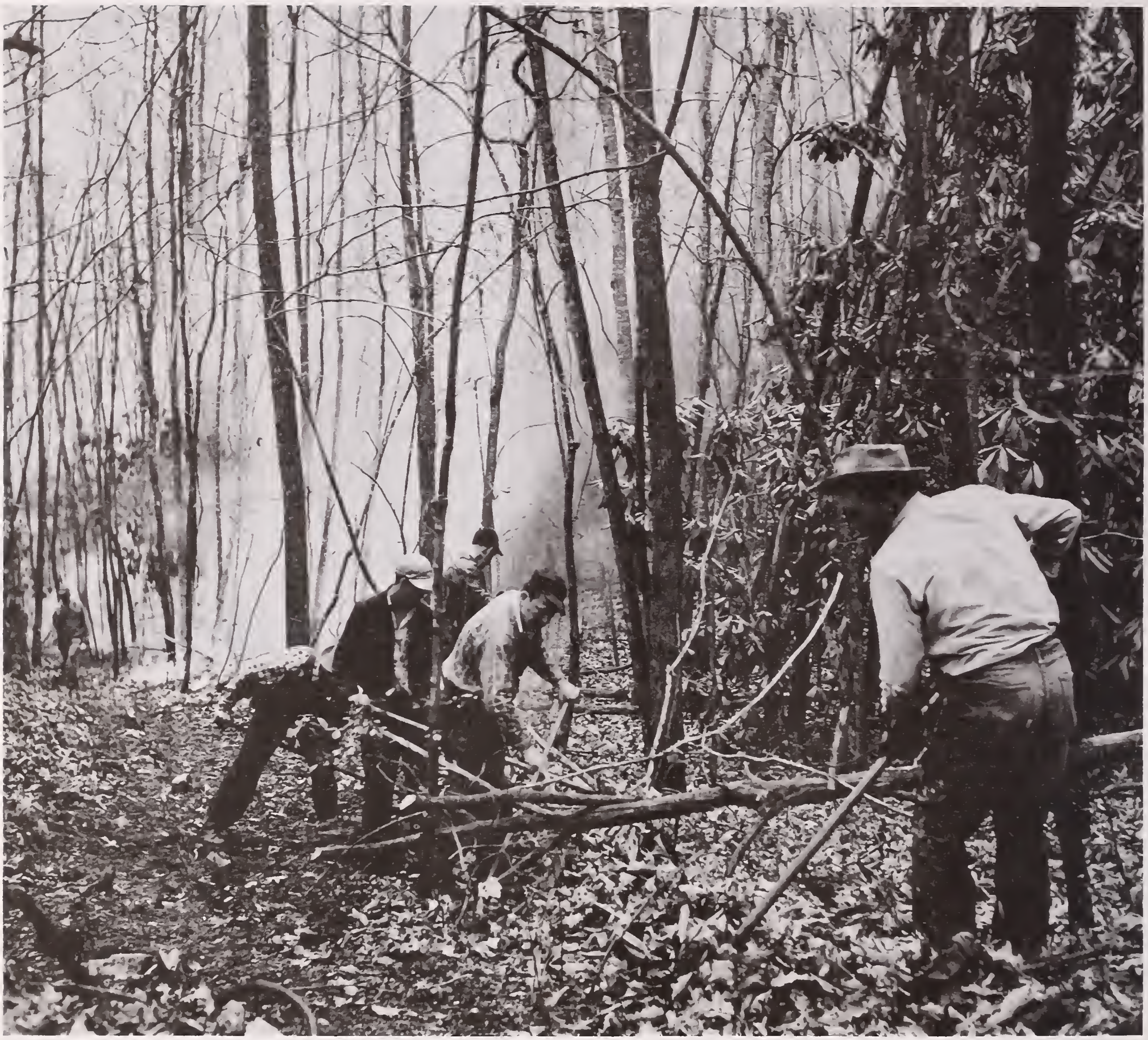
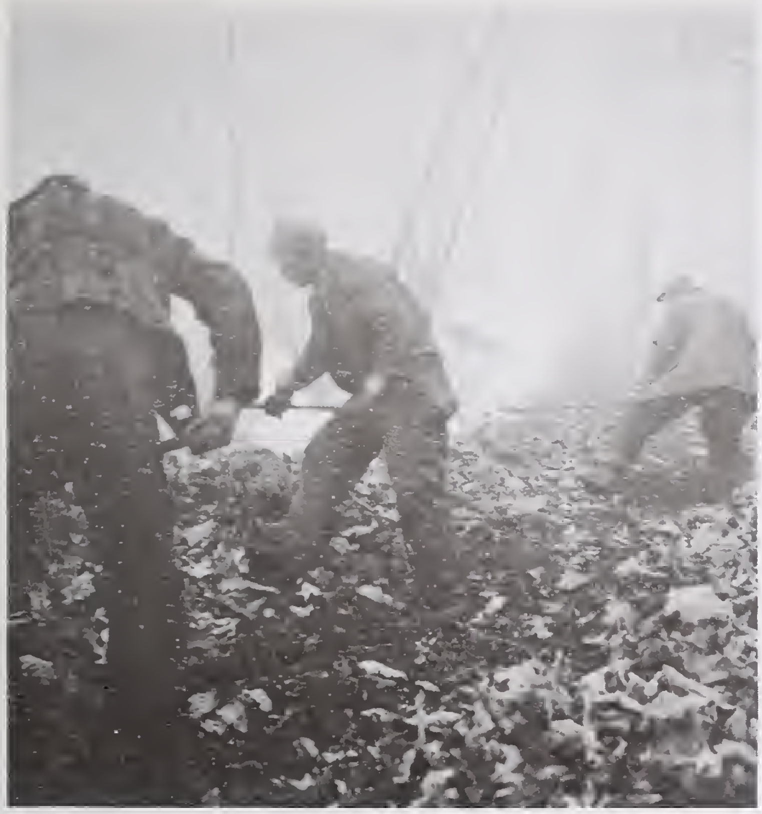


Figure 93.—A Forest Service crew clearing a fireline before setting light to a backfire to stop the Laurel Branch wildfire which was racing toward them. Campbell Creek, Watauga Ranger District, Cherokee National Forest, Tenn., November 1952. (Forest Service photo F-471193)

A more modest study carried out by a forest officer at about the same time covered three of the mountain forests, Cherokee, Chattahoochee, and Nantahala. Interviewing 39 heads of households whose lands were contiguous to, or surrounded by, Government-owned land, he asked a number of questions related to policies and management of the forests. Fire prevention was an important aspect, but he was concerned with more than woods burning. Trying to determine which Forest Service goals meant most to the people, he found:

> Maintenance of timber resources and employment meant most to eighteen, or slightly more than half. The wildlife . . . appealed most to eight, saving of land to six, and forest attractiveness to three. Many persons well acquainted with these people affirm that their interest in wildlife and hunting transcends everything else. The expressions here show, however, that aspects of the forest program promising more opportunities for employment have the stronger appeal.[73]



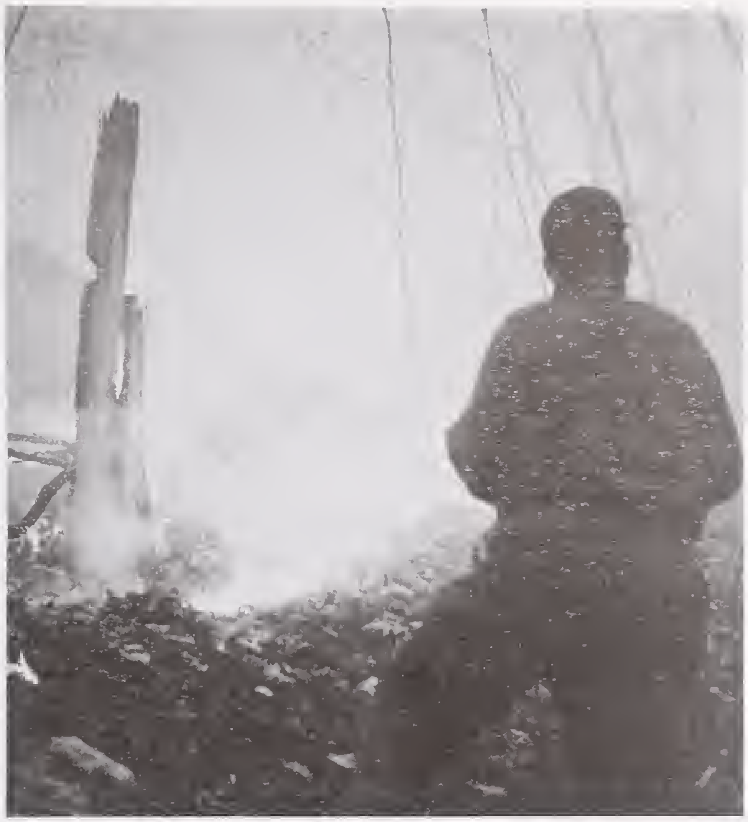


Figure 94.—Crewmen on the fireline using specially made triangular-toothed rakes to prevent their newly lit backfire from spreading across the line to unburned timber. Laurel Branch Fire, Watauga Ranger District, Cherokee National Forest, Tenn., November 1952. (Forest Service photo F-471196)

Figure 95.—A fire crewman keeps a close watch on a burning snag (dead tree), to prevent embers from spreading across fireline to untouched timber. Laurel Branch Fire, Watauga Ranger District, Cherokee National Forest, Tenn., November 1952. (Forest Service photo F-471197)

The investigation also showed the fire causes most familiar to them: farmers' burning brush or fields, campfires, smoking of "bee trees," and other "accidents." The purpose of starting a fire was not to burn the forest, but little was often done to keep the fire from spreading. They did not think people should be prosecuted for such accidents, but most of them agreed that intentional fire setters should be penalized.

One significant but not surprising finding was that each person tended to evaluate the National Forest and its programs by how he or she personally was affected. For the most part, respondents were satisfied with the forests in their localities, but:

> The specific comments they made showed their appraisal to be in terms of grazing, prices paid for land, timber sales, and other matters in which they see themselves affected economically at present, and to no small extent, the likableness of forest officers they happen to know. The broader purposes of national forest management appeared to be unfamiliar lines of thought to most of these backhills people.[74]

A majority favored enlarging the National Forests in the mountains. Those who disagreed feared that families would be forced to leave and would have no way of getting along in new homes. The diversity of responses found in these interviews and the tendency of the mountain people to make judgments on a very personal basis seem most striking. The study made a number of recommendations for improving public relations, but proposed no overall plan or cure for problems with forest neighbors.

How widely these and other studies of the local people were read and believed by the forest officers is a question that cannot be answered, but the existence of these studies reflects official concern, beginning in the late 1930's, for developing insights into the behavior of rural Southerners. Although this concern persisted, it generally focused on the pine forests of the deep South, where burning could be beneficial if properly done. Man-caused fires were certainly not gone from the mountains, but the more severe problems often came from other areas.[75]

Timber Sales Favor Small Logger

Throughout the National Forests, but in the Southern Appalachians in particular, timber sale policy continued to favor the small logger. The Forest Service regarded such sales as a direct means of benefiting and influencing the local public. According to an internal document dated August 1940, "much emphasis is put on making sales to the little fellow who has only the most meager equipment and can only raise a few dollars for advance payment."[76]

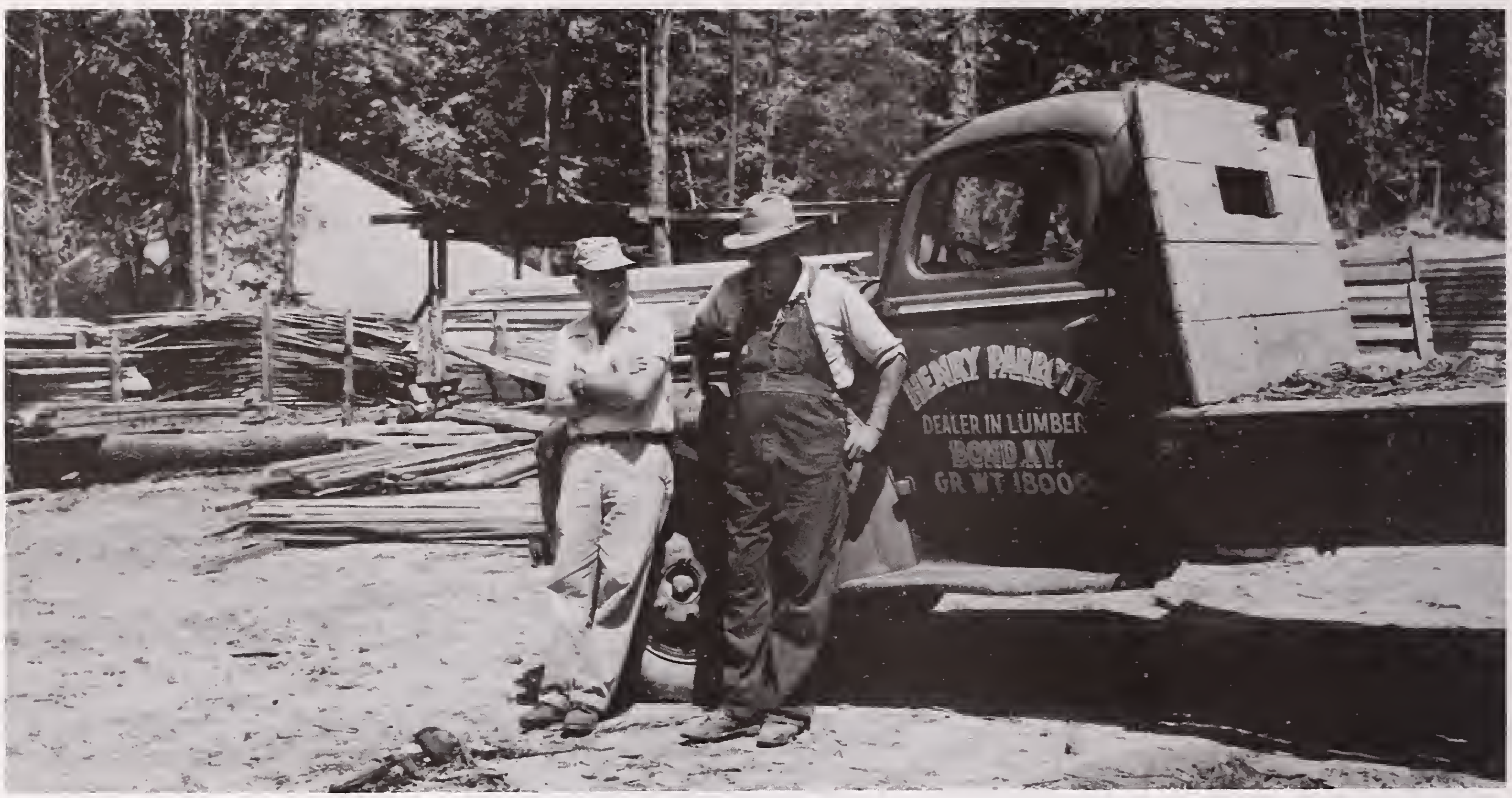


Figure 96.—Hog Branch timber sale being discussed at portable mill site by Henry Parrott, right, of Bond, Ky., operator, and Berea District Assistant Ranger Paul Gilreath, in July 1955. (Forest Service photo F-478903)

Indeed, the "little fellow" had come to dominate the lumber industry in the Southern Appalachians. Throughout the 1940's and 1950's small portable sawmills became more and more prevalent, and sawmilling in general became a seasonal or intermittent industry, employing only a few men. In 1954, about 90 percent of lumber operations throughout the region reported fewer than 20 employees.[77] The largest commercial logging operations were concentrated in the coal-producing counties of eastern Kentucky, particularly Harlan, Leslie, and Perry.[78]

Small sawmill operators on the Cumberland National Forest responded favorably to the agency's timber sale policies. An interview conducted during the mid-1950's of eastern Kentucky wood processors revealed a positive, even enthusiastic, attitude toward the Cumberland:

> With few exceptions, the Cumberland National Forest received general acclaim, even among those wood processors who added that they didn't buy there because too much of the lumber was fire scarred, or because "the system was too elaborate," or, more generally, because the lumber was poor or to a "different measure." Enthusiasm was greatest in the north, where the National Forest was said to be "a life saver to this area," "wonderful," "helping a lot."[79]

At the same time, attitudes toward private timber holders were unfavorable. They were criticized for carelessness concerning fires and a lack of initiative in reforestation. Ironically, however, most of those interviewed confessed to making no direct efforts themselves toward systematic reforestation.[80]

Timber sales from the National Forests were important not just for the employment and profits they offered the local wood processors, but also for their contribution to National Forest revenues. Under the Weeks Act, 25 percent of such revenues (from the so-called 25-percent fund) were returned to the States for recommended distribution to the counties for schools and roads, proportional to the National Forest acreage in each county.[81] Since timber sales were the principal component of National Forest revenues, their size and number influenced the fiscal wellbeing of whatever counties were involved.

The 25-Percent Fund

The writers evaluated the Forest Service's recommended payments from the 25-percent fund, 1940-60, to the 12 Southern Appalachian counties selected in this study for detailed analysis. This showed considerable changes in timber sales and timber sale revenues, as well as increases in timber prices over this period.[82] It also illustrated several of the problems with the Forest Service's 25-percent payments as a source of county revenue.

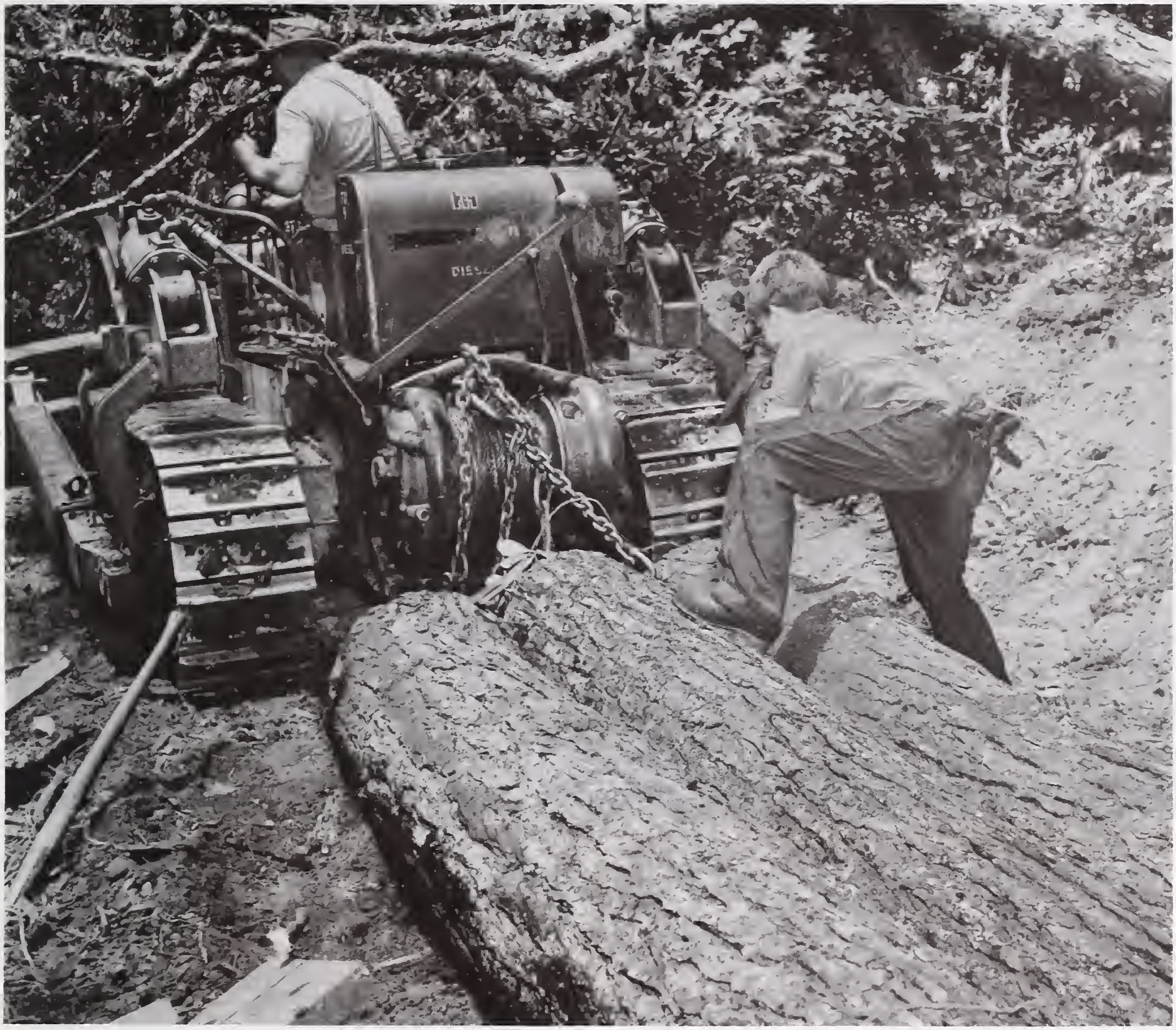


Figure 97.—Skidding hemlock logs to landing by tractor and winch on Reed Creek timber sale in Bear Hollow, Wythe Ranger District, Jefferson National Forest, southwestern Virginia, in July 1955. (Forest Service photo F-479067)

Our analysis considered 25-percent payments and National Forest acreage per county for the nine counties of the group having such acreage. (Hancock and Buchanan Counties have no National Forest acreage; before 1972, Knox County had none.) For all nine counties, 25-percent payments and payments per acre increased from 1940 to 1960. Gross payments increased many times over—for example, from $1,658 in 1940 to $22,302 in 1960 for Union County. However, in 1960 even the highest paid county, Macon, received only $34,679 from the fund. As a supplemental payment for roads and schools, the 25-percent fund was still certainly not large.

On a per-acre basis, payments also increased over time. In 1940 all counties in the sample were paid only between $0.01 and $0.03 per National Forest acre; by 1960, this amount had increased to between $0.05 and $0.24 per acre. The most dramatic increases in payments per acre were for Union, Graham, Macon, and Habersham Counties, all but the last in the heart of the Chattahoochee and Nantahala forests. Much of the National Forest land in these forests had been purchased in earlier years; consequently, by the 1950's each had merchantable second-growth timber stands.

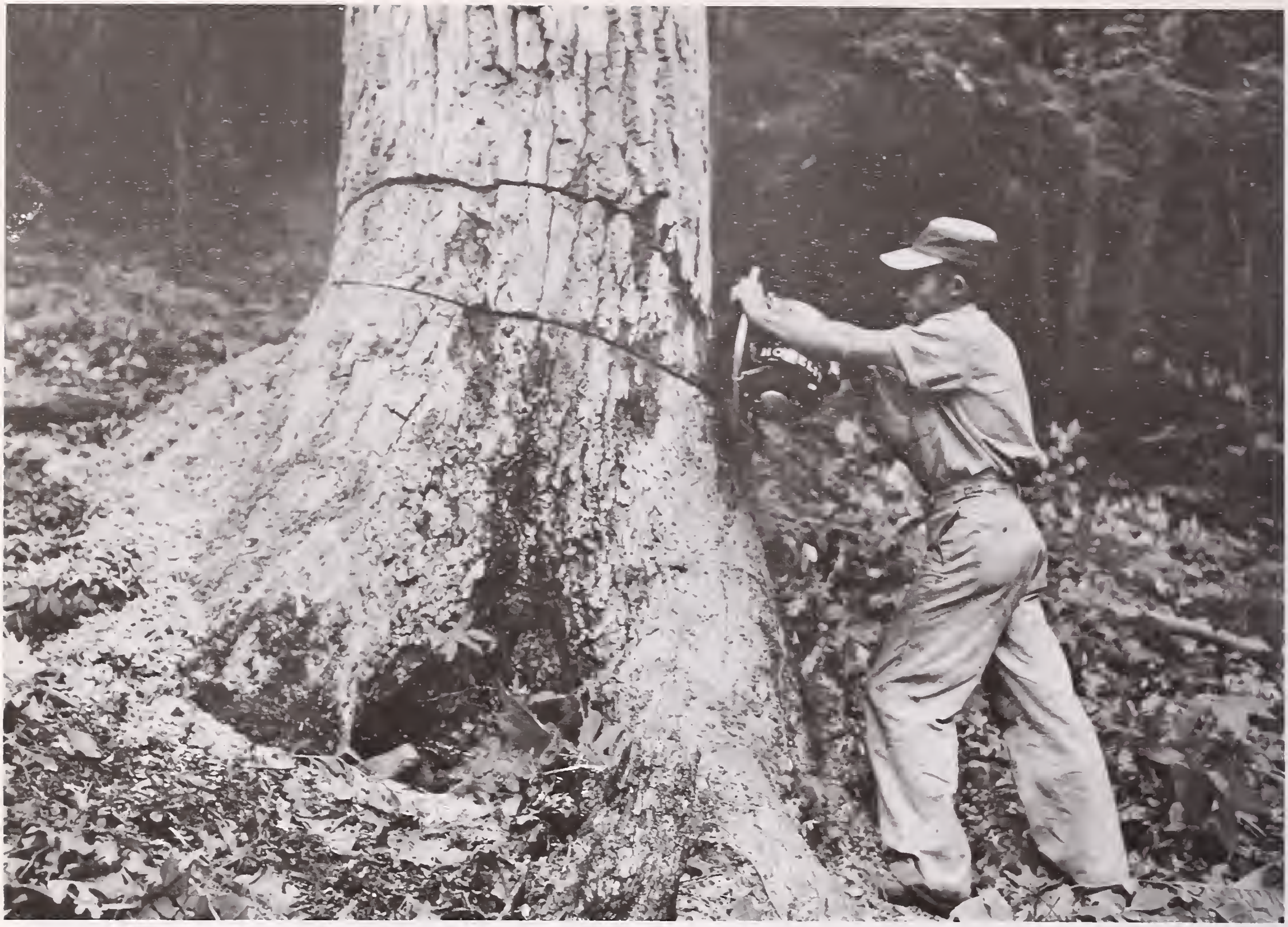


Figure 98.—Cutting a big notch in base of 38-inch mature yellow-poplar tree to fix direction of fall before felling, using one-man power chainsaw, on a timber sale in Chattahoochee National Forest, North Georgia, in October 1956. (Forest Service photo F-481523)

For all nine counties studied, World War II brought an increase in 25-percent-fund payments per acre, reflecting the wartime boom. Payments peaked during 1944. Graham and Macon counties experienced the greatest wartime increase in per acre payments—from $0.07 in 1943 to $0.16 in 1944—suggesting that timber cutting in these counties may have doubled.

In spite of the general increase in payments over the two decades, however, for any given county the amounts varied from year to year, giving support to Si Kahn's criticism that National Forest counties could not predict the amounts they would receive.[83] As a case in point, Macon County per-acre payments from 1951 to 1956 varied as follows:

1951-$0.06
1952-$0.09
1953-$0.10
1954-$0.16
1955-$0.13
1956-$0.08

Although not all counties exhibited the same degree of variation, no pattern was steady.

Cross-county payment inequities were even more extreme and became increasingly so over the two decades. In 1940, all nine counties received between $0.01 and $0.03 per National Forest acre. By 1950, the payments ranged between $0.03 and $0.14. By 1960, the range was $0.05 to $0.24, primarily reflecting differences in timber sales from county to county. In general, these variations in per-acre payments had no relation to the proportion of National Forest land in a county.

Thus, not all mountaineers reacted so favorably to National Forest management as did the local wood processors. One group in particular, the tenants and squatters, proved a frequently difficult management problem. During the 1950's, when land acquisition faded, the chief friction with local residents was over special-use permits.

Tenants and squatters had often been permitted to remain on land sold to the Government during the 1930's. The Forest Service usually required them, however, to obtain special-use permits covering their cabins and fields. Although generally a small fee was charged, the principal purpose was to confirm Federal authority to regulate any activity carried out on the land.

One example shows what can happen in a classic case of mountain stubbornness. Cecil Cable, his wife, and seven children lived in a two-room cabin with lean-to on Nantahala National Forest land. Cable had repeatedly refused to obtain a permit for his home from the district ranger or to pay the user fee of $13.00 per year. The forest supervisor investigated, concluding that Cable, though poor, was well able to pay the fee, but "that he has simply made up his mind that he will not do so."[84] Finally he recommended that Cable be evicted, but the Justice Department was reluctant to take such action.

The case eventually went to the office of the Chief, where a memorandum was prepared explaining that:

> We have asked the Regional Forester to reconsider this case very carefully and to exhaust every possibility of solving the problem without resorting to eviction. We recognize that it is undesirable for the United States to be put into the role of "evicting landlord," especially when a family and small children are involved; however, in this case it seems inescapable . . .
>
> It would be most difficult for us to administer the national forests if one person were allowed to defy the authority of the United States by refusing to pay a just and reasonable fee for the use of national forest land.[85]

Eviction, recommended in October 1951, was carried out in early September 1953. Efforts were made to help Cable and his family find another home and move their household goods, but Cable refused all offers. Finally, the U.S. marshall physically evicted the man and his family from the cabin and piled all their possessions, including about 400 jars of home-canned fruit and vegetables, at the side of the road. A Forest Service crew immediately tore down the cabin and removed it.

In a similar situation on the same Forest, however, the Forest Service was lenient. A Mr. Posey was allowed to squat on Nantahala National Forest land for over 30 years without a permit.[85] He had lived in poverty and obscurity along the Little Tennessee River on lands that were flood by TVA when Fontana Dam was built in 1944. That year Mr. Posey, as well as the local Baptist Church, had been given deeds to small tracts on the lands of the Whiting Manufacturing Co., just south of the flooded area, in the Nantahala National Forest.

Mr. Posey, seizing a rare chance for profit, soon sold his deed and moved, as a squatter, deep into the Nantahala onto lands that TVA transferred in 1947 to the Forest Service. This squatting was "overlooked" by the Forest Service for over 30 years. However, in the late 1970's, when his son moved a trailer onto the site, the two were finally evicted.

Another permit problem on the Nantahala National Forest involved a mica mine on Government land. In 1952 the Supervisor informed the mine operator, S. W. Reid, of Franklin, N.C., that he was to stop mining until he had obtained the necessary permit from the Bureau of Land Management, the Government agency that regulates all mining and issues all mining permits and leases on Federal land. The Forest Service had no objection to Reid's operation, as long as he complied with regulations.[87] Considering the large number of special-use permits issued on all of the region's forests, and the joint role of multiple Federal agencies managing the land, it is remarkable that there were not more conflicts.

A 1959 report defined the increasing pressures felt by forest officers in the mountains, as well as throughout the South, and foreshadowed the difficult management problems of the 1960's and 1970's.[88] The Forest Service had been confronted with proposals to transfer National Forest lands to other jurisdictions for single-use for military use, for alienations for privately owned organization camps . . . " The report concluded that, "although some such transfers may be justified, they indicated that the Forest Service had done an inadequate job of selling the principles of multiple-use management." The implication was that the National Forests, if properly managed, can be used for many things by many people:

> Timber management should . . . be emphasized, but it must be fully coordinated with other uses. Allowable cut figures should make full allowance for scenic areas, soil stabilization, present and future recreation areas, roadside strips, etc. Ways and means must be developed to intensify programs in watershed management, public recreation, wildlife habitat management and grazing.[89]

The difficulties of juggling the multiple purposes of the forests were to become increasingly apparent in the decades ahead. The Southern Appalachian forests had to continue to provide a steady supply of timber for small sawmill operators, local industries, and the population at large. Logging roads had to be maintained, opportunities for timber harvest continued, and timber sale profits assured. At the same time, wildlife and scenic areas had to be protected and recreational opportunities developed. In the eastern forests, scattered ownership patterns made administration for all purposes increasingly difficult. Poor marking of forest boundaries invited trespass and encroachment. Private land uses were increasingly incompatible with those of the Forest. There was still some hope for a future purchase program in the Southern Appalachians, but most of the consolidation of the Forests would have to be done by exchange. A longtime Forest Service employee summed up the problems tersely:

"People are so selfish. "They all want whatever they use the forest for to come first."[90]

Reference Notes

(In the following notes, the expression "NA, RG 95, FS" means National Archives, Record Group 95, Records of the Forest Service (USDA). Under this file designation, "OC" means Office of the Chief, "NFRC" means National Forest Reservation Commission, and "LA" means Land Acquisition, Region 8. "WNRC, FS" means Washington National Records Center. Records of the Forest Service. See Bibliography, IX.)

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31. Brown and Hillery, "The Great Migration," 59.

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Chapter VII

Federal Development of the Southern Appalachians, 1960-81

Under the presidencies of John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson, the Appalachian region was recognized as seriously lagging behind the rest of the Nation, and concerted efforts were directed at revitalizing the area's economy. A myriad of Federal programs were developed to combat poverty and unemployment, some aimed specifically at Appalachia. The Appalachian Regional Commission, created by Kennedy in 1963, and given expanded powers by Congress in 1965, funneled millions of dollars into the Southern Appalachians. In addition, Federal land acquisition in the area was given new impetus, and a new National Forest purchase unit was created in eastern Kentucky. The National Forests of the region were pressured to market their resources to help meet accelerating demands for timber nationwide. Although the region made gains in employment, health, and education, the Southern Appalachian mountaineer, in the early 1970's, remained considerably poorer and less advantaged than the average American in spite of multiple Federal development efforts.

When John F. Kennedy campaigned in the West Virginia Democratic primary for the presidency in April and May 1960, the poverty and squalor he witnessed made a strong impression on him.[1] One of his earliest concerns as President was to ease the depressed conditions he had seen and to restore the Appalachian region to economic health. Shortly after taking office, Kennedy appointed a Task Force on Area Redevelopment to deal with the problems of chronic unemployment, unused labor, and low income. The recommendations of the Task Force, published in early January 1961, echoed New Deal proposals of 30 years before: emergency public works programs in depressed areas of the Nation and development of these areas' natural resources.

Appalachia Is Rediscovered

The year 1960 thus marked the beginning of a national rediscovery of Appalachia that directed billions of Federal dollars to improving the area. Specifically, the Kennedy Task Force identified nearly 100 Appalachian "depressed areas," classified by the Department of Labor as having a "labor surplus, substantial and persistent," and between 300 and 400 rural, low-income areas where Federal funds might be concentrated. The Task Force report recommended that a commission be established for the 11—State Appalachian region to tackle special area development problems. Although

Figure 99.—Local unemployed workers applying for forestry jobs under the Federal Accelerated Public Works (APW) Program in the Tusquitee Ranger District office, Nantahala National Forest, in Murphy, Cherokee County, N.C., in January 1963. APW ran for 2 years and led to the myriad programs of the Economic Opportunity Act. (Forest Service photo F-503999)

most of these recommendations were not translated into Federal action until the presidency of Lyndon B. Johnson, John F. Kennedy redirected national attention and concern to the region.[2] He appointed an advisory commission in 1963.

In 1960 the Appalachian region certainly deserved national attention. Since World War II, as its agriculture and coal industry failed to keep pace with national trends, its population was increasingly unemployed and poor. By 1960, the region's employment, income, and educational levels were well below the national averages. Although the State of West Virginia represented one of the worst concentrations of regional poverty, Appalachian Kentucky, Virginia, Tennessee, North Carolina, and Georgia also suffered severe underemployment and income inequities.

As discussed in some detail in chapter VI, the Southern Appalachian region had been experiencing heavy outmigration for two decades. At the same time, human fertility rates were declining, so that by 1960 the natural rate of increase (births minus deaths per 1,000 population) was not enough to offset the population losses from net outmigration. Not only was population declining, but relatively more was age 65 or older. Throughout the southern mountains, more and more people were leaving their farms for urban and suburban areas. However, retailing and manufacturing firms could not absorb the extra labor, and unemployment rose, In 1960, the unemployment rate of Appalachia was nearly twice the national average.[3]

By whatever statistic it was measured, the poverty of the region was glaring. In the counties of Kentucky, Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Georgia defined by the Appalachian Regional Commission to be part of "Appalachia," poverty was reflected in per capita income figures, poverty level statistics, infant mortality rates, and school enrollments. Four such measures are presented in table 9.

The table shows that, by all four measures, the people of the Southern Appalachians in 1960 were poorer, less healthy, and less well educated than the national average. This was especially true in Appalachian Kentucky where per capita income was only half the U.S. average, and nearly three times the national percentage of families were below poverty level. The infant mortality rate, as an indicator of general health conditions, was highest in Appalachian Virginia and Kentucky, which also had the most 16- and 17-year-olds not enrolled in school. Thus, the statistics confirm that, in general, conditions in the coal counties were the most severe, although throughout the region poverty was markedly worse than the national average.

These conditions were examined more closely for the 12 study counties selected for detailed analysis and introduced in chapter VI. Five poverty indicators available from 1960 Census data are presented for the 12 counties in table 10. On a county-by-county basis, the greatest discrepancies in the data appear between the Cumberland Plateau coal counties of

Table 9.—Four poverty indicators in the Appalachian Mountain sections of five Southern States, circa 1960

	Per capita income as percentage of U.S. average—1965	Percentage of households below poverty level—1960	Infant mortality rate per 1,000—1960	Percentage of persons 16-17 not enrolled in school—1960
United States	100	22.1	26.0	19.1
Appalachian Kentucky	49	58.4	30.9	33.0
Appalachian Virginia	55	24.4	31.0	33.1
Appalachian Tennessee	70	39.9	27.7	27.9
Appalachian North Carolina	75	37.2	26.8	25.6
Appalachian Georgia	70	38.5	29.1	28.0

Source: Compiled from *Appalachia—A Reference Book* (Appalachian Regional Commission, February 1979).

Table 10.—Five poverty indicators in 12 selected Southern Appalachian counties, circa 1960

	High proportion of National Forest							Little or no National Forest						
Poverty Indicator	Union, Ga.	Graham, N.C.	Macon, N.C.	Unicoi, Tenn.	McCreary, Ky.	Bland, Va.	Six-county weighted average*	Habersham, Ga.	Ashe, N.C.	Henderson, N.C.	Hancock, Tenn.	Knox, Ky.	Buchanan, Va.	Six-county weighted average*
Per capita income—$	768	770	870	1,127	481	836	809	1,104	759	1355	516	594	844	862
Percentage of families below poverty level	67.1	58.0	56.2	39.6	71.5	56.2	58.1	35.5	60.9	35.5	78.0	70.5	50.2	55.1
Percentage of population receiving public assistance**	8.8	5.9	3.0	5.1	13.3	Under 1.0	6.3	5.3	7.7	2.3	8.7	11.7	2.3	5.4
Percentage of families with incomes of $10,000 or more	3.1	1.9	3.8	3.7	0.9	1.7	2.7	3.5	2.1	6.4	1.2	1.7	3.8	3.7
Percentage of population 65 years or older	10.2	7.6	10.7	9.1	9.0	8.8	9.4	8.3	10.2	11.8	8.7	9.7	4.0	8.6

*For percent of families below poverty level, averages are unweighted.

**1964 recipients as a percent of 1960 population.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *City and County Data Book* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1962, 1967).

McCreary and Knox in Kentucky, and Hancock, in Tennessee, as a group, and the remaining mountain counties. In 1960, these three had by far the lowest income of the 12 and the most families below poverty level. Also, along with Union County, Ga., they had the most on public assistance and, along with Graham County, N.C., the fewest earning $10,000 a year or more.

L. E. Perry has painted a more explicit picture of conditions in 1960 in McCreary County, representative of the Cumberland Plateau in Kentucky, which has a high percentage of National Forest land:

> The county was not the best in economic stability (it never seems to be) nor was it the worst. But the general welfare of the people was disturbing. . . . There were the same crucial and urgent problems. 49% of all homes had no running water; 65% of the homes had no bathrooms; 75% had no central heat; 33% of the homes were on dirt roads. Hundreds of unsightly, unsanitary and uncomfortable houses dotted the landscape. The problems of housing and what to do about it was one to stagger the imagination. . . .[*sic.*]
>
> Surplus food distribution was not only a way of life it was life for much of the population, not unlike the never-to-be-forgotten days of the great depression.
>
> The slump in coal production in the 1950s persisted; the war-time factories no longer beckoned. Unemployment was at a high rate. Would poverty never perish in McCreary County?[4]

A comparison of the six study counties with a high proportion of National Forest land and those with little or no National Forest suggests that the former group fared worse in 1960—but only slightly so. The averages computed for each set of counties are generally close, with only several percentage points between them, except for a larger difference in the percent of population earning $10,000 or more. It is noteworthy that within each group of counties—and excluding the Cumberland coal counties—the differences are considerable. For example, Unicoi and Union Counties, with 43 and 47 percent, respectively, of their land in National Forests in 1960, showed a difference of 32 percent in per capita income. Similarly, Henderson and Ashe Counties, with only an 8 percent difference in National Forest land ownership in 1960, had a 44 percent difference in per capita income.

Thus, it appears that in 1960, although the six counties with a higher proportion of land in National Forests were generally poorer, had a higher percentage of people dependent on public assistance, and a higher percentage of people 65 or older than the six counties with a low percentage of National Forest ownership, these differences were relatively small. These differences were not so great as those within the two sets of counties studied and across the subregions of the Southern Appalachians. Thus, it cannot fairly be determined from this sample whether a high proportion of National Forest land depressed local social and economic conditions. Certainly, poverty conditions cannot be attributed to Federal landownership alone, if, indeed, to any degree at all.

The first emergency employment project for distressed areas to be implemented under President Kennedy was the Accelerated Public Works Program (APW) which operated nationwide during the 1962 and 1963 fiscal years under a $900-million authorization of the Clark-Blatnik Emergency Public Works Acceleration Act enacted September 14, 1962. Funds were allocated by the Area Redevelopment Administration in the Department of Commerce. During the 2 years, a peak force of 9,000 men worked on a multitude of projects on 100 National Forests, advanced with $60,800,000 of allotted funds, many in the Southern Appalachians. (See table 11.) Work included picnic and camp recreation and sanitary facilities, timber stand improvement, wildlife and fish habitat improvement, roads and trails, erosion control, and fire towers, ranger offices, warehouses, and other structures. Among the latter were a new office for the Morehead Ranger District, Daniel Boone National Forest, Ky., and construction of research facilities for water runoff measurement at the Coweeta Hydrologic Laboratory near Franklin, N.C., in the Nantahala National Forest.[5] The APW Program led to the numerous special work programs of the Johnson Administration which developed out of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

The Federal War on Appalachian Poverty

When Lyndon B. Johnson became President in 1963, he turned Kennedy's concern with poverty and unemployment into a crusade: a "War on Poverty." Over the next 5 years, a proliferation of governmental agencies and programs was created to combat the nation's economic ills. The Southern Appalachians were "rediscovered," and a substantial share of Federal program money was provided for the region's development.[6] As L. E. Perry put it:

> Every big gun was pointed toward Appalachia and there were dozens of them in the armies of agencies recruited to fight poverty. There was an Accelerated Public Works Program and the Area Redevelopment Administration with numerous projects to disperse the federal benefits. Another division was called Manpower Development and Training Act. Only the bureaucrats knew the meaning of that. There was action in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, and the mighty Agriculture Department. The Appalachian Road Program was pushed forward and the Forest Service revived a nearly dead land acquisition program. Even the Kentucky Department of Economic Security was in the midst of this war. Every conceivable maneuver, it seemed, was anticipated, and covered by some sort of program or plan at the local, State or federal level.
>
> But the top brass was that of the Office of Economic Opportunity. Here was the command post of such powerful agencies as Head Start, Neighborhood Youth Corps, Job Corps, Vista, Unemployed Fathers (Happy Pappy) and others. If poverty could not be eliminated, this war would make it more enjoyable.[7]

The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 created many of the most visible programs throughout Appalachia,[8] incorporating several antipoverty approaches. The Act established a series of unconnected programs under the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO). These included: Community Action Programs, Job Corps, Neighborhood Youth Corps, VISTA (Volunteers In Service To America), Summer Head Start, and the Work Experience and Training Program. In fiscal years 1967 and 1968 alone, OEO spent nearly $225 million in Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, North Carolina, and Georgia,

Table 11.—Allocations of funds to National Forests in the Southern Appalachians under the Accelerated Public Works Program, 1962-64

	1962-63 allocations (dollars) total: 32,500,000			1963-64 allocations (dollars) total: 28,300,000	
Area	First	Second	Third	First	Second
All National Forests	15,000,000	10,000,000	7,500,000	20,255,000	8,045,000
Southern Appalachian Forests	980,000	1,700,000	NA	2,435,000	NA
Chattahoochee and Oconee (Georgia)	200,000	410,000	NA	600,000	NA
Cherokee (Tennessee)	180,000	300,000	NA	285,000	NA
Daniel Boone (Kentucky)	350,000	145,000	NA	545,000	NA
Jefferson (Virginia)	50,000	260,000	NA	485,000	NA
Pisgah, Nantahala, Uwharrie, and Croatan (North Carolina)	200,000	485,000	NA	520,000	NA

Note: NA = Not available
Total Funds, 1962-64, all National Forests: $60,800,000
Funds listed include amounts for States for tree planting
Source: Accelerated Public Works file, History Section, Forest Service

mostly on Community Action Programs, but much on Head Start and Job Corps also. VISTA, although more publicized, received only 2 percent of OEO funds for 1967 and 1968 in the five States.[9]

Another visible OEO program in Appalachia was President Johnson's Work Experience and Training Program, operated by the Department of Labor. It provided on-the-job training for unemployed fathers of dependent children who would otherwise receive AFDC (Aid to Families with Dependent Children) payments. Popularly known as the "Happy Pappy" program, it was very active in eastern Kentucky, where it at first inspired enthusiasm. In 1965 William McKinley Sizemore, mountain resident of Knox County, Ky., volunteered the following folk song about the Happy Pappy program:

> Mr. Johnson put me to working
> When he signed that little bill
> Since I've become important
> It gives me a thrill
> The neighbors hushed their talking
> That I was no good
> Since I'm a happy pappy
> They treat me like they should.[10]

However, although for some mountaineers this program may have made Lyndon Johnson the favorite President since Roosevelt, it soon brought on widespread cynicism and disillusionment. By 1967, even before the Nixon administration, funds for the program were severely cut back.[11]

VISTA and most other OEO programs suffered similar fates. Basically, they were criticized for being naively and expensively staffed by people with grand ideas but little practical experience. OEO was repeatedly charged with spending dollars to "fatten middle-class staffs as assistant directors and executive secretaries proliferate."[12] Part of the failure of VISTA, it was claimed, rested with Appalachian Volunteers, Inc., (AV) an organization of about 30 persons supported almost entirely by OEO grants, which managed VISTA initiatives. AV, it was charged, lacked management skill and was generally not cost-effective.[13] (Of the 12 study counties, only Knox, McCreary, Hancock, and Macon received any VISTA funds.)[14]

Job Corps Proves Itself

One of the few OEO programs that survived the 1960's relatively uncriticized was Job Corps, which grew out of a recommendation of the 1961 Kennedy Task Force and was still going strong 20 years later. A supplemental appropriation to the Forest Service was recommended for timber stand improvement, control of erosion, and development of recreation facilities on National Forests in distressed areas, many of which were in the Southern Appalachians.[15] One of the main aims, as with the CCC, was to create jobs to absorb the unused young labor of such areas.

This recommendation was translated into Job Corps during Lyndon Johnson's presidency by the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, funded in the Department of Labor. Job Corps was intended to provide intensive educational and vocational training in group settings for disadvantaged youth so that they might become responsible and productive, and to do so in a way that contributed to national resource development.[16] Certain Job Corps camps were to be operated by the Forest Service as Civilian Conservation Centers under an inter-agency agreement with the Department of Labor. As L. E. Perry said, ". . . Job Corps was the new baby the Forest Service had long wanted but could not afford until the OEO stork arrived."[17]

The first Job Corps center to be activated in the United States, Camp Arrow Wood, opened in the Nantahala National Forest near the town of Franklin, Macon County, N.C., early in 1965. (It was renamed Lyndon B. Johnson after his death.) Five other camps opened later that year throughout the Southern Appalachians. Most were old CCC camps, remodeled and made habitable by the Corpsmen themselves. The six Southern Appalachian Job Corps (Civilian Conservation) centers still active in 1982 are listed below.

The purpose of Job Corps was to transfer disadvantaged, primarily urban, youths to new environments where they would receive vocational training, education, and counseling. The Corpsmen who were sent to the Southern Appalachian centers were predominantly urban and black. When Job Corps began, the introduction of several hundred black youths into a previously all-white mountain community caused some problems. In some locations, it was difficult to integrate the Corpsmen into the surrounding communities as easily as had been hoped.

Table 12.—Civilian Conservation Centers* in National Forests of the Southern Appalachians, 1980 and 1982

National Forest	Camp	Trainee Capacity	
		Fiscal year 1980	Fiscal year 1982
Nantahala, N. C.	Lyndon B. Johnson (formerly Arrow Wood)	205	205
Pisgah, N. C.	Schenck	224	224
Cherokee, Tenn.	Jacobs Creek	200	224
Jefferson, Va.	Flatwoods	224	224
Daniel Boone, Ky.	Pine Knot	224	224
	Frenchburg	224	168

*Originally called Job Corps Centers

Source: Harold Debord, Human Resource Programs, Southern Regional Office, Forest Service, Atlanta, Ga.

For example, a 1966 review of community attitudes toward the Schenck Job Corps Conservation Center located in the Pisgah National Forest showed some local reluctance to welcome the men. Although nearby Hendersonville had invited them to visit certain prearranged, select sites, the town would not send its representatives to the camp, "not wishing to have their presence [in general] or deal with their problems. This has been made formally clear."[18] The small town of Brevard, only a few miles from the camp, was felt to offer little for the urban youth. Asheville, where they were bussed regularly, seemed to know little about the camp. The Asheville police were said to "regard the influx [of Corpsmen] in a most informal manner, looking the other way when small disturbances occur."[19]

The worst Job Corps problems in the Southern Appalachians were at Arrow Wood. In 1965, after a busload of Corpsmen arrived in Franklin, N. C., for a summer evening, violence erupted between them and some local ruffians. According to the Camp's first director, although local youths had caused disturbances with outsiders before, this evening's melee was unprecedented. Police stopped the violence, and many local boys spent the night in jail. After that evening, policies changed; the number of Corpsmen bussed into Franklin was kept to a minimum.[20]

Fortunately, such racial disturbances were not widespread. Camps near towns larger than Franklin had less difficulty. For example, Jacobs Creek Center near Bristol, on the Tennessee-Virginia line, experienced no such problems. It seems that Bristol, a bi-State city of 55,000, with a black population of its own, was better able to absorb the Corpsmen.[21]

The Pine Knot Job Corps Center, which opened in McCreary County in 1965, likewise experienced no racial difficultures. L. E. Perry wrote of its establishment:

> At first the government officials were apprehensive about the possible racial consequences of establishing the training center in the area of McCreary County since it would recruit a majority of young blacks. After several local civic group meetings in the county, and with considerable preconditioning statements, it was generally implied that no more than 50% of the trainees would be of the minority class.
>
> The local people for the most part have no preconceived ideas about racial discrimination and they refused to act violently. Within a few years the Center was almost 100% made up of black youths in training with a staff that was 100% white. The Forest Service hierarchy was pleased at the non-violent acceptance of the blacks by the citizens and privately and gleefully congratulated one another for integrating McCreary County without conflict.[22]

Over the years, Job Corps has improved the National Forests of the Southern Appalachians in much the way the Civilian Conservation Corps did 30 years before—with road construction, construction of recreational facilities, soil erosion

Figure 100—New Stearns Ranger District office and modern sign, with Rangers Andrew Griffith and Herbert Staidle by official car in front, on State route 27, Daniel Boone National Forest, Ky., in July 1966. Name of Forest had just been changed from Cumberland in April. (Forest Service photo F-515412)

Stearns
RANGER STATION
DANIEL BOONE
National
Forest
US

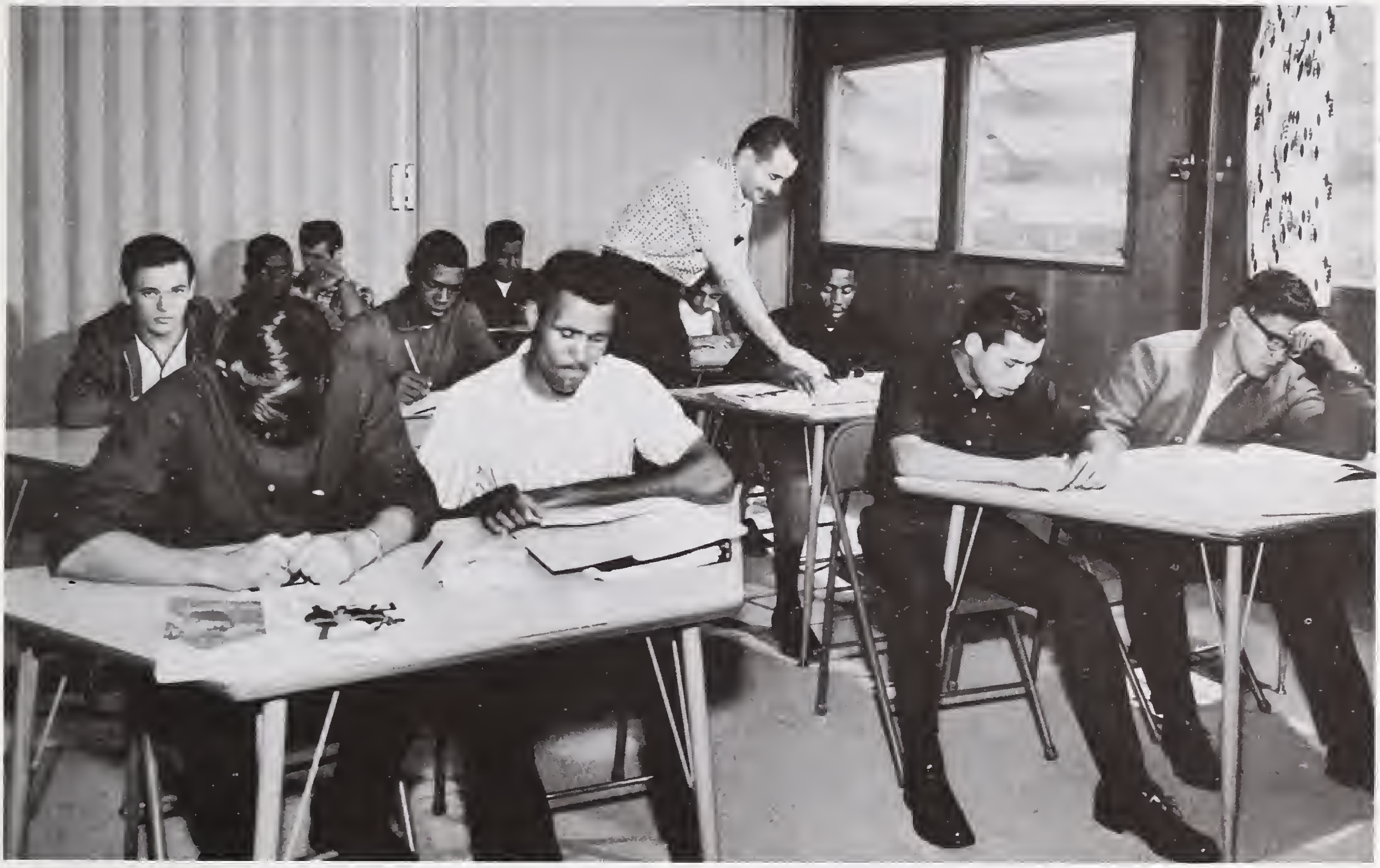


Figure 101.—Classroom instruction in basics for Job Corpsmen at Schenck Conservation Center near "Cradle of Forestry" on Pisgah National Forest near Brevard, N.C., in August 1966. (Forest Service photo F-516105)

control, reforestation, and timber stand improvement. For example, the ranger station and the visitor center of the Cradle of Forestry in Pisgah National Forest were built by the Schenck Job Corpsmen.[23]

Some of the Corps work has benefited local communities as well as the forests. In 1979, for example, the Pine Knot Job Corps unit rebuilt the McCreary County Little League baseball field, constructed a backstop and chain-link fence for the McCreary County Park, and supplied umpires for local Little League games.[24] Job Corps centers have also provided employment for local residents, either through the construction of facilities for the centers or through staff positions. For example, in 1979 the Frenchburg Job Corps center in the Daniel Boone Forest employed between 30 and 40 persons from Powell, Montgomery, Menifee, and Bath counties on construction contracts, and employed 22 persons full time and 8 persons part time as center staff members, also from adjacent counties. The Center director estimated that 70 percent of Frenchburg's nearly $1 million operating budget was spent in the five-county area surrounding the center.[25]

Other Programs Benefit Local Labor

The other Human Resource Programs administered by the Forest Service have had a more direct impact on the local labor market in the Southern Appalachians. The Youth Conservation Corps (YCC) and Senior Conservation Employment Program, both initiated in 1971, have provided employment in the National Forests for local youths and elders. YCC has operated summer camps for male and female youths 15 to 18, enrolling as many as 1,200 persons per year in the Southern Appalachians. Although YCC youths are not necessarily local, the locals who do enroll often are children of business and professional leaders in the community.[26] YCC campers have built trails, planted trees, developed campgrounds, and surveyed land throughout the Appalachian forests. In 1981 YCC was reduced but continued on a revised basis.

The Senior Conservation (older American) Employment Program has provided work at minimum wage for over 500 elderly folk in the National Forests of the southern mountains. They have been local men and women 55 or older, with no income except Social Security or small pensions, performing odd construction and repair jobs. The program has been considered highly successful in involving the local population in Forest Service activities, and in furthering rapport with the local community.[27]

Figure 102.—Job Corps trainees on way to morning classroom and field work assignments at Schenck Conservation Center, Pisgah National Forest near Brevard, N.C., August 1966. (Forest Service photo F-516130)

The Young Adult Conservation Corps (YACC), begun in 1977, is the most recent Human Resource Program. It has provided employment at minimum wage for a 1-year maximum to local men and women between 16 and 23 years old. Unlike Job Corps and YCC, persons in YACC lived at home; mostly on the fringes of the National Forests. In 1979, nearly 500 persons were employed in YACC in the Southern Appalachian National Forests—including 112 in the Daniel Boone alone.[28] In 1981 this program was terminated by the new administration in Washington in an economy move.

The Appalachian Regional Commission

In 1965 President Lyndon Johnson secured passage of the Appalachian Regional Development Act, which created the Appalachian Regional Commission (ARC).[29] A study commission, originally recommended by the Kennedy Task Force, had already been in operation for 2 years under presidential appointment. Under the leadership of Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., the President's Appalachian Regional Commission (PARC) had conducted several analyses of the region, and had formulated the commission's essential approach to regional development.[30]

The main problems of Appalachia were defined by PARC as a lack of access both to and within the region, a technological inability to use its natural resources fully, a lack of facilities to control and exploit its rainfall, and inadequate resources to train its youth.[31] Thus, regional development was to focus on a new and improved highway network; public facilities; resource development programs for water, timber, and coal; and on human resource programs. Specifically in regard to the Appalachian timber resource, PARC viewed the region's timber as underutilized and undermarketed, and recommended that increased timber harvesting would not only provide local jobs, but would also improve conditions for recreation, wildlife, and water production.

The Appalachian Regional Commission, created in March 1965, consisted of the governors of 12 Southeastern and Northeastern States (the 13th State, non-Appalachian Mississippi, was added in 1967) and one presidential appointee. The Commission was to coordinate the administration of a great new Federal-State funding effort for Appalachian development. Although most supporting funds would be Federal, the burden of the responsibility for project initiation, decisionmaking, and program administration was delegated to the States. In this delegation, ARC represented a new approach to regional rehabilitation efforts.

The Commission defined "Appalachia" as a vast 195,000-square mile region of 397 counties, including all of

West Virginia and parts of 12 other States from New York to Mississippi. On the assumption that Appalachia, as "a region apart," lacked access to the Nation's economic system, and that correcting this defect was basic to the entire program, the main initial thrust of the commission's development effort was to improve the region's system of highways. In fact, more than 80 percent of the first ARC billion-dollar appropriation was for a Development Highway System, the money to be spent over 6 years.[32] Among the improvements resulting were the Foothills Parkway along the Tennessee side of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park, the Tennessee portion of the Tellico Plains—Robbinsville Highway across the Smokies south of the Park, and the Bert T. Combs Mountain Parkway from Winchester to Salyersville, Ky., through the Red River Gorge. Other public works investments were planned, but human resource development was left to the poverty programs administered under OEO, and even natural resource development was regulated to low priority, as Robb Burlage described it:

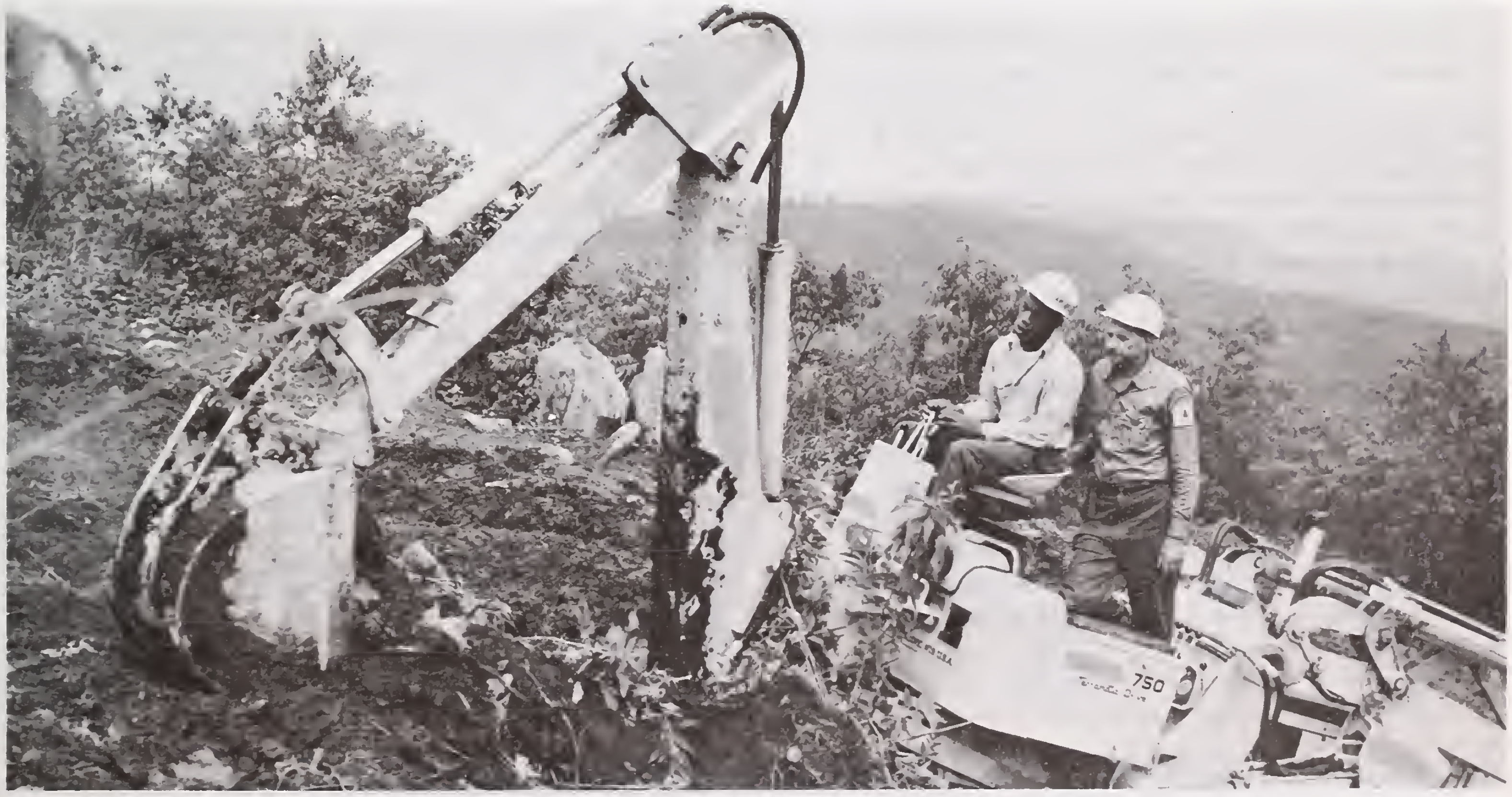
> The Act [Appalachian Regional Development Act] explicitly forbade use of public funds to purchase or support public power and ignored most direct agency resource development and administrative powers. Water resources were given to the Congressional (and private power company) favorite, the Army Corps of Engineers, to study and plan with the states for five years. Timber, livestock, and mineral development programs were whittled away. Environmental control over coal was narrowed to a few restoration and study efforts.[33]

ARC funds were to be concentrated in those areas of the region that had fared relatively well during times of economic distress and thus showed a potential for self-sustaining growth. The highway network would connect all such growth areas, and provide access to them from the surrounding labor fields. Jerald Ter Horst said there was "a hint of economic predestination" in ARC's development premise: "the belief that many economically weak towns and counties do not have the potential to become thriving, prosperous centers of population."[34] When eastern Kentucky newspaper editor Tom Gish saw an ARC development map in December 1964, showing only white space for his area, he labeled it "Eastern Kentucky's White Christmas."[35]

Local Development Districts

For administrative purposes, the States divided their Appalachian regions into local development districts (LDD's), of which there were 69 in 1980. LDD's are multicounty planning and development agencies organized around urban growth centers. For example, the Southwest North Carolina LDD encompasses Cherokee, Clay, Macon, Graham, Swain, Jackson, and Haywood Counties. LDD's receive administrative support funding from ARC but operate differently from State to State. Projects are often initiated and administered LDD-wide, although others are restricted to one county or encompass several LDD's.

Figure 103.—Job Corpsman receiving instruction in operating heavy road-building equipment from officer of Pisgah National Froest, N.C., in August 1966. (Forest Service photo F-516209)



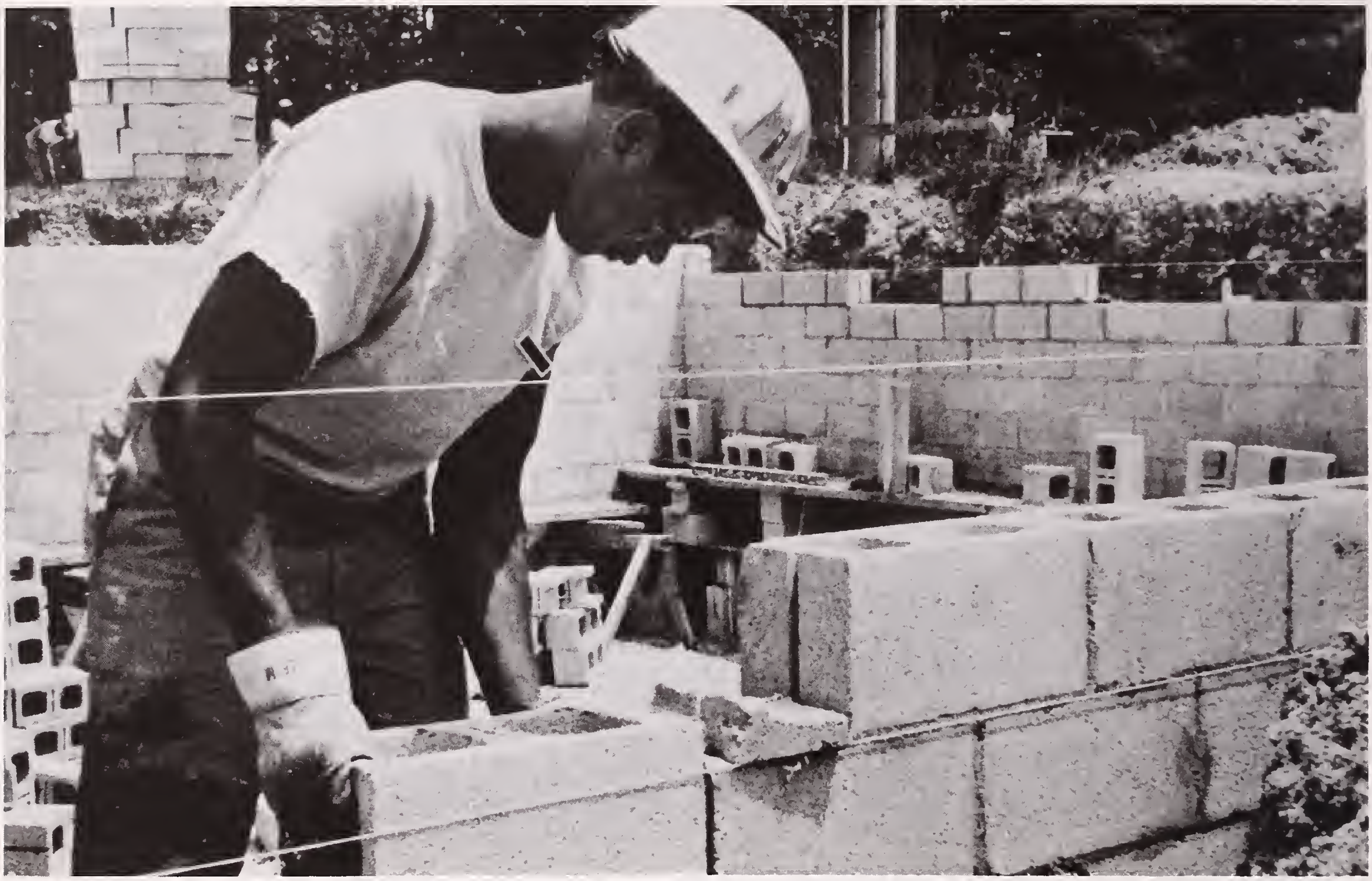


Figure 104.—Cinder blocks for new office building of Stanton (formerly Red River) Ranger District being laid by Job Corps trainee in June 1967. The men on this project were from the Frenchburg Civilian Conservation Center, near the Red River Gorge and the confluence of Menifee, Powell, and Wolfe counties, on the Daniel Boone National Forest, Ky. (Forest Service photo F-519122)

The programs funded through the Appalachian Regional Commission have been administered through a series of existing governmental agencies, often co-sponsored by them. ARC developed working relationships with a number of Federal agencies active in the region; for example, the Environmental Protection Agency and the Rural Development and Soil Conservation Services of the Department of Agriculture. Although ARC's relationship with the Forest Service has been less formalized than those with other Federal agencies, there has been communication between the two on certain initiatives and policy issues. The commission has funded a series of resource and environmental programs, primarily in mine subsidence, land stabilization, and mine reclamation. There have been timber development programs as well, although very localized and small in scale; this is discussed further on. ARC has funded, through the Forest Service Regional Office in Atlanta, several associations of landowners for the purpose of private timber development. In 1980 one was operative in a five-county area around Catlettsburg, Ky.[36]

ARC Is Criticized For Failing the Poor

Between 1966 and 1978, the Appalachian Regional Commission spent more than $3.5 billion for the region's economic development.[37] Although the Commission has cited numerous successful projects, critics—from the U.S. General Accounting Office (GAO) to local spokesmen, such as Robb Burlage and John Gaventa—have been vocal. In essence, they charged that ARC has failed to reach the region's critically poor, and that "improvement" has benefited only the local elites or the already urbanized areas of Appalachia. Over 60 percent of ARC's funds have gone into highway building or improvement.[38] Of the remaining funds that have been dispensed, most have bypassed the hard-core, neediest Appalachian communities. Several have suggested that to be truly responsive, ARC should have recognized Appalachia's status as an internal colony by taxing the coal and resource extraction industries, fostering the development of public power, and encouraging greater local citizen participation in the Commission's expenditure decisions.[39]

The General Accounting Office, in an April 1979 report to Congress, was more specific in its criticisms. In essence, the GAO found that, (1) the fundamental goals of ARC were not completely clear; (2) ARC State-planning efforts were politically oriented, fragmentary, and inadequate; (3) specific time frames for the accomplishment of the Commission's long-term goals had not been established; (4) often areas with the least severe poverty and employment problems had received the highest average ARC funds per capita; and (5) that funding and program status had frequently not been adequately monitored.[40]

The report specifically focused on the Kentucky River Area Development District of central eastern Kentucky, which includes Leslie, Perry, Knott, Owsley, Breathitt, Wolfe, and Lee counties—most of which are in the area of this study. The GAO concluded that, in spite of concentrated investments of nearly $23 million in the district, and in spite of the district's percentage increase in per-capita income greater than the national average, the incidence of poverty worsened for the district between 1960 and 1970. Thus, the GAO questioned "whether the goal of economic self-sufficiency is feasible or realistic in this and perhaps other parts of Central Appalachia."[41]

Out of the more than $3.5 billion in ARC funds expended between 1966 and 1980, slightly more than $230 million were spent for single counties over the 84-county area considered in this study.[42] For four of the five States involved—Kentucky, Tennessee, North Carolina, and Georgia—ARC funds were spent fairly evenly on a per-county basis. The Virginia counties, however, received about twice the per-county ARC funds (over $4.6 million) as did the others.

Counties that received the most ARC funds individually (more than $6 million) over the 84-county area are listed below.

With the exception of Buncombe and Whitfield Counties, the above list is composed of coal counties, none of which has a high proportion of National Forest land. It is noteworthy that Buncombe County, where Asheville is located, received a relatively large share of ARC funds, an indication that development efforts were often concentrated in areas with an exhibited potential for growth.

For the 12 Southern Appalachian counties selected for detailed analysis in this report, a total of $23,438,631 in ARC funds were spent from the Commission's beginning through March 25, 1980. The breakdown of these expenditures and the expenditures per capita are shown in table 14. The difference in expenditures on county projects between the selected group

Table 13—Southern Appalachian counties receiving most ARC funds, 1966-80

Wise County, Va.	$13,029,646
Whitfield County, Ga.	10,530,783
Buncombe County, N.C.	7,362,167
Scott County, Va.	6,859,172
Tazewell County, Va.	6,816,041
Bell County, Ky.	6,766,902
Harlan County, Ky.	6,722,624
Dickenson County, Va.	6,420,717

Source: ARC Funds by County, Joe Cerniglia, Appalachian Regional Commission, Washington, D.C.

Table 14.—Total and per capita funds allotted by Appalachian Regional Commission to 12 selected Southern Appalachian counties, 1980

County and State	Total ARC funds as of March 25, 1980	Population as of July 1, 1975	ARC funds per capita
High proportion of National Forest			
Union, Ga.	$ 633,163	8,110	$ 78.07
Graham, N.C.	481,700*	6,641	72.53
Macon, N.C.	1,389,079	18,163	76.49
Unicoi, Tenn.	725,756	15,702	46.22
McCreary, Ky.	820,570	14,342	57.21
Bland, Va.	none	5,596	none
Total	$ 4,050,268	68,554	$ 59.08
Little or no National Forest			
Habersham, Ga.	$ 1,458,124	23,128	$ 63.05
Ashe, N.C.	1,853,312	20,211	91.70
Henderson, N.C.	4,684,722	48,647	96.30
Hancock, Tenn.	1,353,806	6,486	208.73
Knox, Ky.	4,795,525	26,713	179.52
Buchanan, Va.	5,242,874	34,582	151.61
Total	$19,388,363	159,767	$121.35

*No funds allotted, 1973-80

Source: Appalachian Regional Commission data sheets, "Financial Information for all Projects by County." Courtesy of Joe Cerniglia, ARC, Washington, D.C.

of counties with large areas of National Forests and the selected group with no National Forests is clear. The latter received more than four times as much ARC funds as the National-Forest counties, although the group had only about twice the population. For example, Bland County got no funds at all, and Graham got less than $500,000, while Hancock County, with about the same small population, got $1.3 million. Thus, in terms of ARC funds per capita provided at the county level, the counties without National Forests fared about twice as well.

Of the 12 study counties, those that have received the most funds per capita are the predominantly coal counties—Hancock, Knox, and Buchanan. Here the funds have been spent diversely. The most costly ARC project in Hancock County was an access road between Morristown and Rogersville; Buchanan County received $2 million for construction of the Buchanan General Hospital; in Knox County, ARC funds were spent for an industrial park access road, the Union College Science Center building, and numerous smaller projects, ranging from an industrial park rail siding to an emergency radio communications network. Although such expenditures have probably contributed to the counties' wellbeing, they do not appear to have been aimed at the hard-cord victims of coal mining. (For all 12 study-area counties, about one-fifth of the total ARC funds were spent on roads and over one-quarter on vocational education.)

For the six counties with a high proportion of land in National Forests, McCreary and Graham are typical. Most of McCreary's $820,570 ARC funds went to the McCreary County High School vocational education department in 1974. In 1976, over $250,000 were spent on the McCreary County Park. Graham County's ARC funds also went largely for a vocational education facility, although a sewage treatment facility and solid waste disposal program were also funded. Graham County received no direct ARC funds between 1973 and 1980.

This assessment of the impact of both the ARC programs and the various anti-poverty programs initiated under OEO on the Southern Appalachians is neither clearcut nor exhaustive. However, an examination of changes in certain poverty indicators over time suggests that noticeable improvement has occurred. Table 15 presents changes from 1960 to 1970, 1975 or 1976 for the four poverty indicators shown earlier over the five Southern Appalachian States.

For all States, all indicators show an improvement over time, although in the 1970's the region still lagged behind much of the Nation. The most dramatic improvements in per capita income were for Appalachian Kentucky and Virginia—the poorest areas in 1960. Although they were still the poorest in 1976, per-capita income in those States was much closer to the regional average. Other noteworthy changes include an overall drop in the infant mortality rate closer to the national average (the Appalachian Tennessee rate was actually below national average), and a considerable decrease in the percent of families below poverty level. Although the number of persons 16-17 not enrolled in school decreased between 1960 and 1970, the percentage change was not as large as that for the Nation as a whole.

For the 12 study counties, changes in poverty indicators over the decade of the 1960's were typical of those across the Southern Appalachians, but appear greater for the counties with much area in National Forest than for those with little or no national forest land, as shown in table 16. In 1960, the six counties with a high proportion of national-forest land appeared to be poorer than their counterparts with little or no national-forest land; by 1970, there is a suggestion that the reverse was true.

Table 15.—Changes in four poverty indicators for the Appalachian Mountain sections of five southern states, 1960-76

Area	Per capita income as percentage of U.S. average		Percentage of households below poverty level		Infant mortality rate: deaths per thousand		Percentage of persons aged 16-17 not enrolled in school	
	1965	1976	1960	1970	1960	1975	1960	1970
United States	100	100	22.1	13.7	26.0	16.1	19.1	10.7
Appalachian Kentucky	49	68	58.4	38.8	30.9	17.1	33.0	25.3
Appalachian Virginia	55	75	24.4	0.4	31.0	21.6	33.1	17.5
Appalachian Tennessee	70	79	39.9	22.4	27.7	15.8	27.9	19.0
Appalachian North Carolina	75	84	37.2	18.8	26.8	19.1	25.6	17.1
Appalachian Georgia	70	77	38.5	16.9	29.1	16.4	28.0	25.3

Source: Compiled from *Appalachia—A Reference Book*, Appalachian Regional Commission, February 1979, pp. 56, 66, 74, and 77.

Although the six counties without National Forests had a higher average per capita income in 1974, the difference between the two groups of counties analyzed had closed from 6 percent to 4 percent since 1960. Furthermore, by the end of the 1960's, the counties with little or no National Forest had a greater percentage of families below poverty level (a reverse of the situation in 1960) and a higher percentage of people receiving public assistance. Indeed, in Buchanan County, with no National Forest, although the population dropped from 36,724 to 32,071 between 1960 and 1970, the number of people receiving AFDC payments increased between 1964 and 1972 from 837 to 2,009. Again, the predominantly coal counties appeared the poorest counties in both groups, in spite of signs of relative improvement. McCreary, Knox, and Hancock Counties, in particular—one of which has over half its land in National Forest, the other two having little or none—ranked low according to all the poverty indices. All 12 study counties experienced a uniform increase in the proportion aged 65 or older. Such a change suggests a continued trend in the outmigration of the younger population and, for some counties, an inmigration of persons of retirement age.

Table 17 summarizes changes in net migration rates from the 12 study counties from 1960 to 1975. The data indicate that between 1960 and 1970, although the rate had slowed from the previous decade, net outmigration from most of the

Table 16—Changes in four poverty indicators for 12 selected Southern Appalachian counties, 1960-74

High proportion of National Forest							Little or no National Forest								
Union, Ga.	Graham, N.C.	Macon, N.C.	Unicoi, Tenn.	McCreary, Ky.	Bland, Va.	Six-County weighted average*	Habersham, Ga.	Ashe, N.C.	Henderson, N.C.	Hancock, Tenn.	Knox, Ky.	Buchanan, Va.	Six-County weighted average*		
768 2,853	770 2,880	870 2,922	1,127 3,165	481 1,915	836 2,977	809 2,785	1,104 3,256	759 2,816	1,355 3,814	516 1,827	594 2,278	844 3,496	862 2,915	1960 1974	Per capita income—$
67.1 35.4	58.0 24.8	56.2 24.9	39.6 19.8	71.5 53.7	56.2 20.0	58.1 29.8	35.5 16.5	60.9 28.0	35.5 19.9	78.0 55.5	70.5 48.4	50.2 27.2	55.1 32.6	1960 1969	Percentage of families below poverty level
8.8 4.8	5.9 1.0	3.0 <1.0	5.1 4.1	13.3 8.4	<1.0 1.0	6.2 3.2	5.3 1.6	7.7 3.1	2.3 0.9	8.7 8.5	11.7 9.9	2.3 6.3	6.3 5.1	1960 1972	Percentage of population receiving public assistance
10.2 13.7	7.6 12.4	10.7 17.0	9.1 12.5	9.0 10.3	8.8 11.2	9.2 12.9	8.3 10.2	10.2 13.5	11.8 16.1	8.7 12.8	9.7 11.7	4.0 6.4	8.8 11.8	1960 1970	Percentage of population 65 years or older

*For percentage of families below poverty level, averages are unweighted.
Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *County and City Data Book*, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1967, 1972, and 1977).

Table 17.—Changes in net migration for 12 selected Southern Appalachian counties, 1960-70 and 1970-75

	High proportion of National Forest						Little or no National Forest					
Percentage change	Union	Graham	Macon	Unicoi	McCreary	Bland	Habersham	Ashe	Henderson	Hancock	Knox	Buchanan
1960-70	– 4.2	– 11.8	– 0.3	– 7.9	– 13.3	13.2	2.2	– 9.9	9.4	– 21.4	– 16.7	– 30.2
1970-75	13.9	– 4.4	14.0	– 0.4	9.7	0.1	7.5	0.5	12.5	– 5.4	6.6	– 1.6

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *County and City Data Book* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1967, 1972, and 1977).

counties was still considerable. The coal counties of Buchanan, Hancock, Knox, and McCreary continued to experience the greatest outmigration losses, with Bland and Graham Counties close behind.

Between 1970 and 1975, however, all 12 experienced a marked change. In several, net losses changed to net gains; at the very least, the rate of net outmigration dropped. Changes were most dramatic for the coal counties of Buchanan (29 points), Knox (22 points), and McCreary (23 points), although Union, Hancock, and Macon Counties improved by from 14 to 18 percentage points. The magnitude of the migration changes was apparently not related to the proportion of National Forest land. These population shifts will be discussed further in chapter VIII.

New Forest Is Created in Kentucky

One of the major concerns of the President's Appalachian Regional Commission (PARC), created by President Kennedy in 1963, was the development of the timber resource of the Appalachian region. "The timber resource," PARC reviewers felt, "should provide much of the foundation for the renewed economic vigor of the region."[43] However, fragmented ownership proved to be one of the region's most serious timber problems, and "substantial acreages of forest land" in Appalachia were found so depleted as "not likely to be rehabilitated and adequately protected under private ownership."[44] Thus, public ownership of such lands was recommended so that they could be returned to full productivity.

Following the recommendations of Senator Robert C. Byrd of West Virginia and Governor Bert T. Combs of Kentucky, two mountain areas—one bordering the Monongahela National Forest, the other in eastern Kentucky—were studied for National Forest expansion in Appalachia. The area of eastern Kentucky was of about 4 million acres encompassing headwaters of the Cumberland, Kentucky, Licking, and Big Sandy Rivers. PARC recommended acquiring about 1.3 million acres over a 10-year period—not only to meet timber development recommendations but also to further general goals of the President's Commission.[45]

Two years later, PARC's recommendations were realized. In February 1965, Congress created the Redbird Purchase Unit encompassing acreage in Leslie, Clay, Bell, Harlan, Owsley, Perry, and Knox Counties. Land acquisition began almost immediately. In April 1966, Congress renamed the Cumberland National Forest the Daniel Boone National Forest.

As in other parts of the Southern Appalachians before Forest Service acquisition, lands of the Redbird Purchase Unit had been held largely by absentee timber corporations, landholding companies, and mining interests since 1900 or earlier. As such, they had been extensively cut over and mined.[46] Indeed, the Redbird contained some of the most abused land of the whole region. For the most part it was abandoned, and the few residents remaining, either small landholders or tenants, lived in the worst conditions of Appalachian poverty.

The Forest Service had considered this area several times as potential National Forest. Forest examiners had gone to eastern Kentucky in the first years after the passage of the Weeks Act. The area was reexamined during the 1920's, and again in the 1930's. By then, most of the lands had been heavily cut over, and could provide only the most meager existence for the inhabitants. In 1933 Mary Breckenridge, founder of the Frontier Nursing Service in eastern Kentucky, went before the National Forest Reservation Commission to plead for a National Forest in the area. A National Forest, she felt, was the logical land-management choice for the region, not only to preserve and develop the timber resource and provide local employment, but also to prevent disastrous downstream flooding.[47]

Although Mary Breckenridge was well received, and although Forest Service examiners visited the area and expressed strong interest in acquisition, no purchase unit was established. The major reason then, as it was in 1914, was that most of the land was held by timber coal companies whose owners either were unwilling to sell at all or refused to relinquish mining rights to the land until the coal was depleted.[48]

In the 1960's, since much of the land had not only been logged but also mined, the Forest Service was more successful with acquisition. The first tract purchased in the Redbird Unit was of about 60,000 acres from the Red Bird Timber Co. The land, located in Clay, Leslie, Harlan, and Bell Counties, formed the nucleus of the almost 300,000-acre unit. Red Bird Timber had bought the tract from Fordson Coal Co., a Ford Motor Co. subsidiary, in the early 1960's; Fordson had held the land for almost 40 years after buying it from Peabody Coal in 1923.[49]

Although some coal and timber companies were willing to sell to the Forest Service, the unit was not hailed enthusiastically by all of the local population. Indeed, for several weeks running, the *Leslie County News* lamented the Federal takeover and scorned the benefits that were assured the area. Although acknowledging that Government ownership could improve the land measurably, the paper said that Federal ownership is bad because it irrevocably takes the land away from private ownership. "It is a fact," stated The Politician of the paper, "that once the government does purchase property, it rarely sells it back."

> A democracy does have many problems, but government ownership is not a cure all. Nor can it automatically make profitable a venture which has failed, in hands of individuals. The only real difference is that the government can afford to operate anything, anywhere, anytime, because it doesn't have to make a profit. It doesn't have anything invested, except the taxpayers' money.[50]

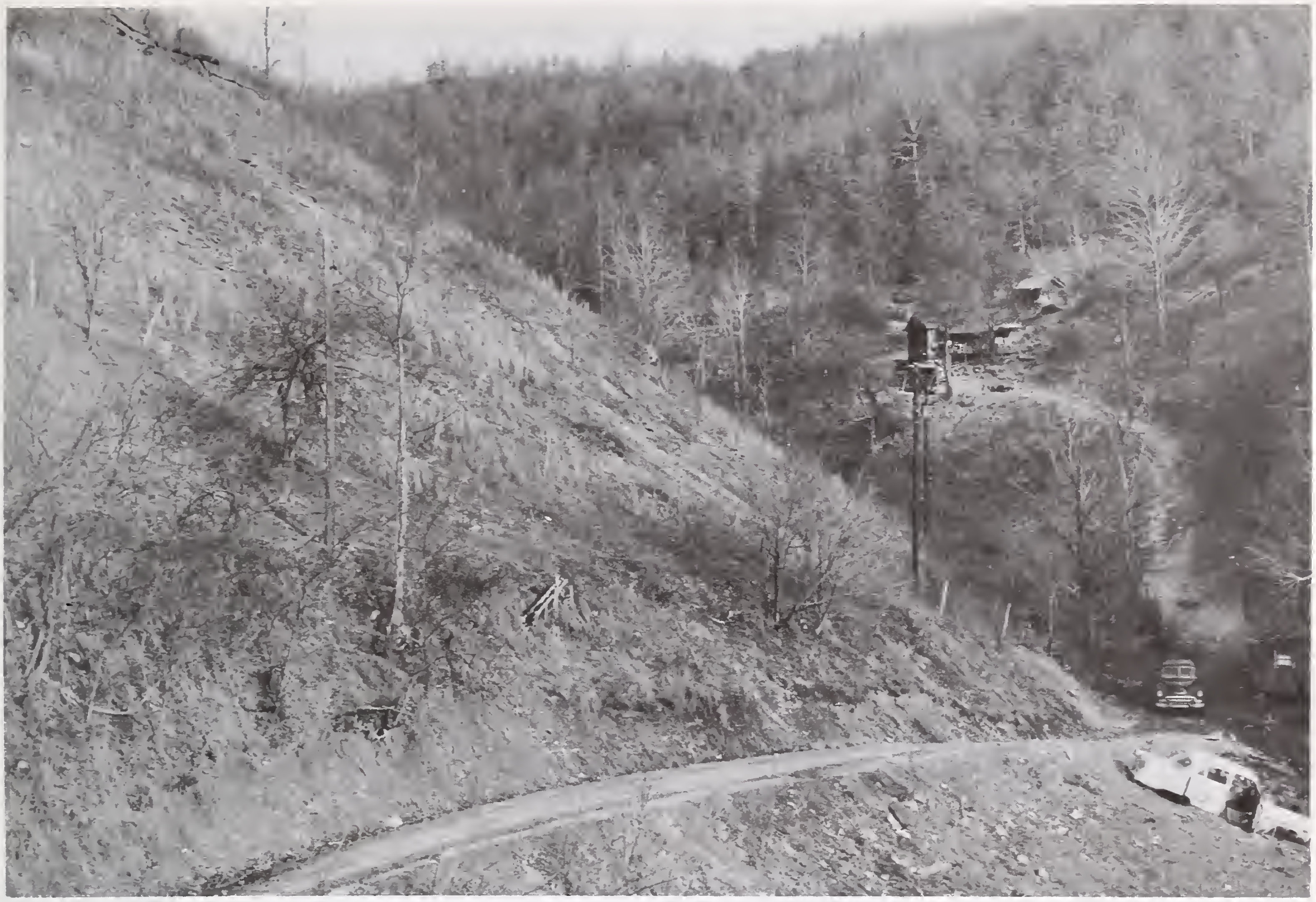


Figure 105.—Severely cutover, farmed-out steep slope along dirt road at headwaters of Elk Creek, Clay County, typical of the Redbird Purchase Unit in eastern Kentucky in 1965. The Redbird, which comprises the headwaters of the Kentucky and Cumberland rivers in seven southeastern coal counties, is the Forest Service's most recent Purchase Unit. Note dilapidated houses, abandoned auto. This scene was then typical of this area. Recent strong demand for coal has relieved the depression situation somewhat. (Forest Service photo F-512677)

Certainly, there was not much illusion that land acquisition for the Redbird would dirctly benefit the local population. As L. E. Perry of McCreary County wrote:

> The land acquisition program was expanded into the Appalachia poverty areas, presumably to bring relief to the destitute people of Clay, Leslie and Bell Counties. In reality the drive was for more land area where the corporations and land holding companies needed to unload their cut-over timberlands at a good profit while retaining the rich mineral deposits. It is yet [in 1980] to be determined how the poverty stricken people of the area were helped by this land buying program.[51]

With the purchase of the Red Bird Timber Co. tract, the Forest Service assumed responsibility not only for the land, but also for 115 families who had been tenants of the company on a year-to-year basis. Most of these families lived in substandard housing on remote, unmaintained roads; about 30 percent were estimated to have been receiving welfare payments. The appearance of the mountaineers' homes was dismal; trash and refuse littered the yards; the exteriors of the homes were delapidated.[52]

When the families learned of Forest Service acquisition of their leased land, they raised many questions about the continuity or improvement of their lives. The policy was that, although no one would be forcibly removed from his home, the eventual goal was to relocate all the families. Special-use permits would be issued for continued tenancy and farming, but the Forest Service would not maintain the roads serving the homes and would require "that the permittees clean up the premises and keep them clean." So its policy differed little from that of the Red Bird Corp., except for cleanliness. Here, the Forest Service was "reluctant to condone or continue a practice [freely dumping trash in the yards and in the woods] which is perpetuating a situation which appears to be deplorable."[53]

Throughout the next decade, rangers on the Redbird Unit had continuous problems with some of the inhabitants, such as special-use permits, trash disposal, and incendiary fires. Maintaining a firm but friendly attitude was difficult, even for the most resourceful ranger.

For example, the first ranger on the Redbird Unit tells of his experiences with one particularly stubborn tenant family which had occupied several acres in the Redbird since the days of Fordson Coal Co. Although a tenant of Fordson, the family had persistently filed claims for the property they were occupying, but could never prove their case to obtain a *bona fide* deed.

When the Government acquired the lands the family was occupying, the second generation of tenants was not content with a special-use permit and continued the fight to own their small tract. They threatened the district ranger with bodily harm, and went so far as to begin construction of building foundations on the tract they occupied. In short, they "interfered with national forest management." Ultimately, the case was settled in Federal court and the family was required to leave the National Forest. Several family members, however, continued for at least 10 years to assert their claim to the land.[54]

Weeks Act Purchases Rise Steadily

After the lean years of the Eisenhower Administration, appropriations for Weeks Act purchases increased almost steadily from 1961 until 1967, from $100,000 to $2,480,000. In 1966, more acres were approved for Weeks Act acquisition than had been approved for all the previous 11 years together.[55] Throughout the late 1960's and early 1970's, acquisition in the Redbird Purchase Unit dominated the business of the National Forest Reservation Commission. According to NFRC minutes in 1972, "during the past six years, over one-half of the Weeks Law funds have been concentrated in the Redbird Purchase Unit."[56]

In 1972, the National Forest Reservation Commission approved a 96,061-acre extension to the Redbird Purchase Unit. The extension included land in Owsley and Perry Counties that was "forested although heavily cutover." The Commission felt that Federal acquisition would help protect the area's watersheds and improve the water quality of an existing reservoir in the region. It was projected that acquisition costs would range between $25 and $80 per acre, and that the purchase program would run for about 20 years.[57] In 1975, the Redbird was still identified as the "major thrust area" for NFRC land purchase.[58]

Most of the tracts purchased in the Redbird were small, ranging between 10 and 300 acres. Larger tracts were the exception, although in 1973 over 9,000 acres were acquired from the Mayne Land and Development Co.[59] From its creation in 1965 until 1978, an average of about 7,500 acres was acquired in the Redbird each year. In 1977 the net acreage of the purchase unit was almost 135,000 acres. In 1981 it was just over 140,000. Prices for land in the Redbird have been far below those in the other Southern Appalachian National Forests. In fiscal year 1977, for example, tracts acquired in the Redbird averaged $85.97 per acre; those in the Nantahala and Pisgah National Forests averaged $441.27 per acre, and those in the Cherokee, $635.22 per acre.[60]

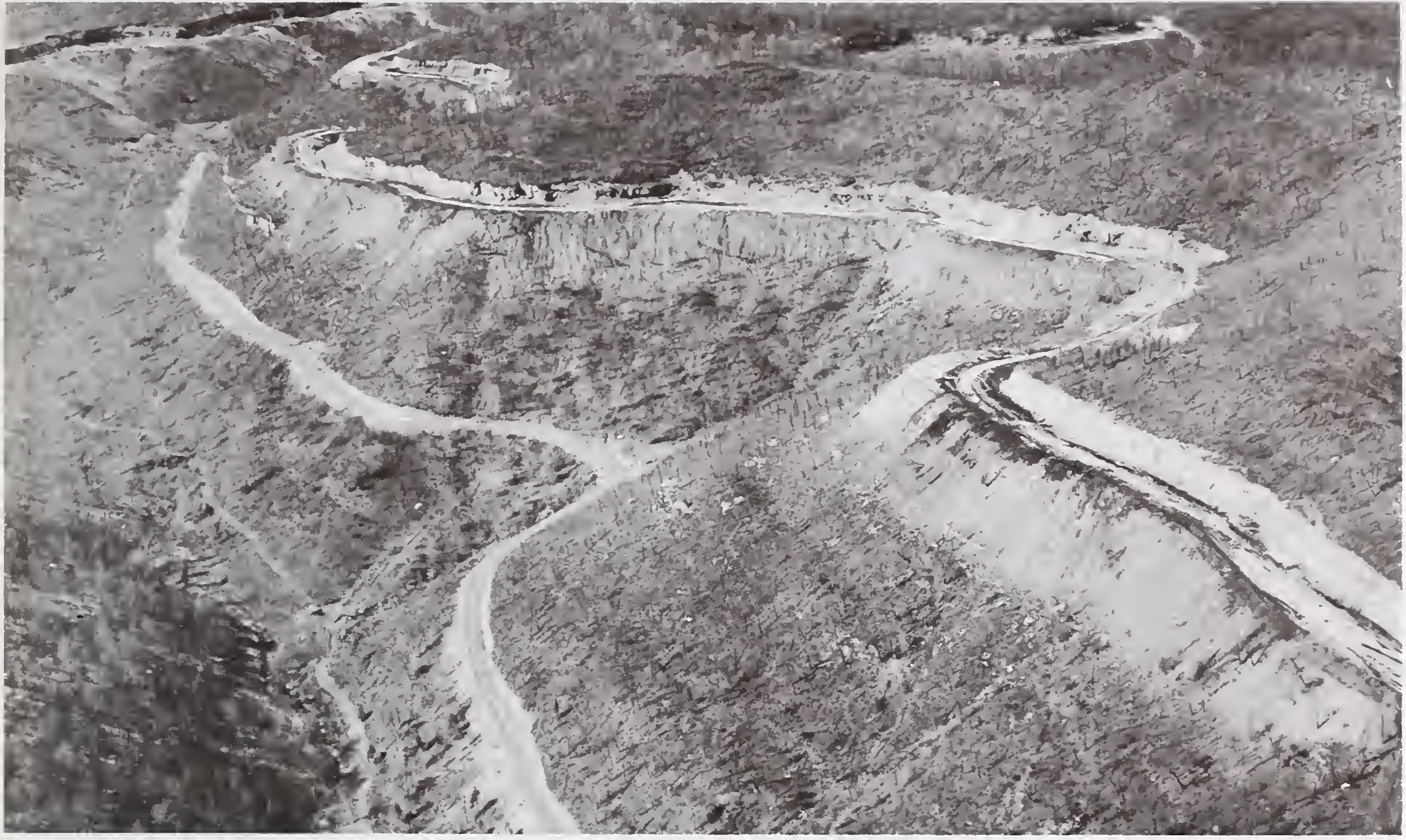
Serious Problem With Mineral Rights

The problem of mineral rights on the lands of eastern Kentucky, which halted efforts to establish a National Forest there 60 years ago, has plagued the Forest Service since the Redbird was established in 1966. Much of the land in the Redbird is covered by the Kentucky broad form deed, which allows strip-mining and gives the deed holder wide freedom with the land. At first the National Forest Reservation Commission was reluctant to purchase lands that had mineral rights outstanding in a third party with a Broad Form Deed. Gradually, however, it was recognized that so much Redbird land was of this type, some would have to be acquired to create a manageable National Forest district.

Thus, many tracts in eastern Kentucky have been purchased with mineral rights held by third parties. The Commission consoled itself with the expectation that, because Kentucky had strengthened its 1954 strip-mining law, the mining would be acceptable.[61] Mineral rights have been separately purchased, where possible, however, to facilitate Forest Service control. For example, in 1971 the National Forest Reservation Commission authorized $10 per acre to purchase the mineral rights to the Fordson Coal Co. lands.[62] Ultimately, of course, the Commission could obtain the mineral rights with the Secretary's condemnation, an option that was entertained more frequently in the 1970's as recreation and wilderness forces collided with mining interests on the Daniel Boone.

New Law Boosts Recreational Land Purchases

Although land acquisition in the Southern Appalachians during the 1960's and 1970's was concentrated in the Redbird Unit, the other National Forests in the region also expanded because of a boost in acquisition monies provided by the Land and Water Conservation Fund (LWCF). The Fund, established by the Land and Water Conservation Fund Act of September 1964, was a direct outgrowth of the Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission (ORRRC) study.[63] The main purpose of the Act was to enhance the recreational resources of America through planning, acquisition of lands, and recreational development. A separate fund was established to provide money to individual State and local governments on a matching basis and to Federal agencies to carry out the purposes of the Act. Monies were available, through the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation (later to become the Heritage, Conservation, and Recreation Service), for the Forest Service to acquire private inholdings in wilderness areas, lands for outdoor recreation purposes, or areas where any fish or wildlife species was threatened. The Act stipulated that no more than 15 percent of the acreage so acquired could be west of the 100th meridian.



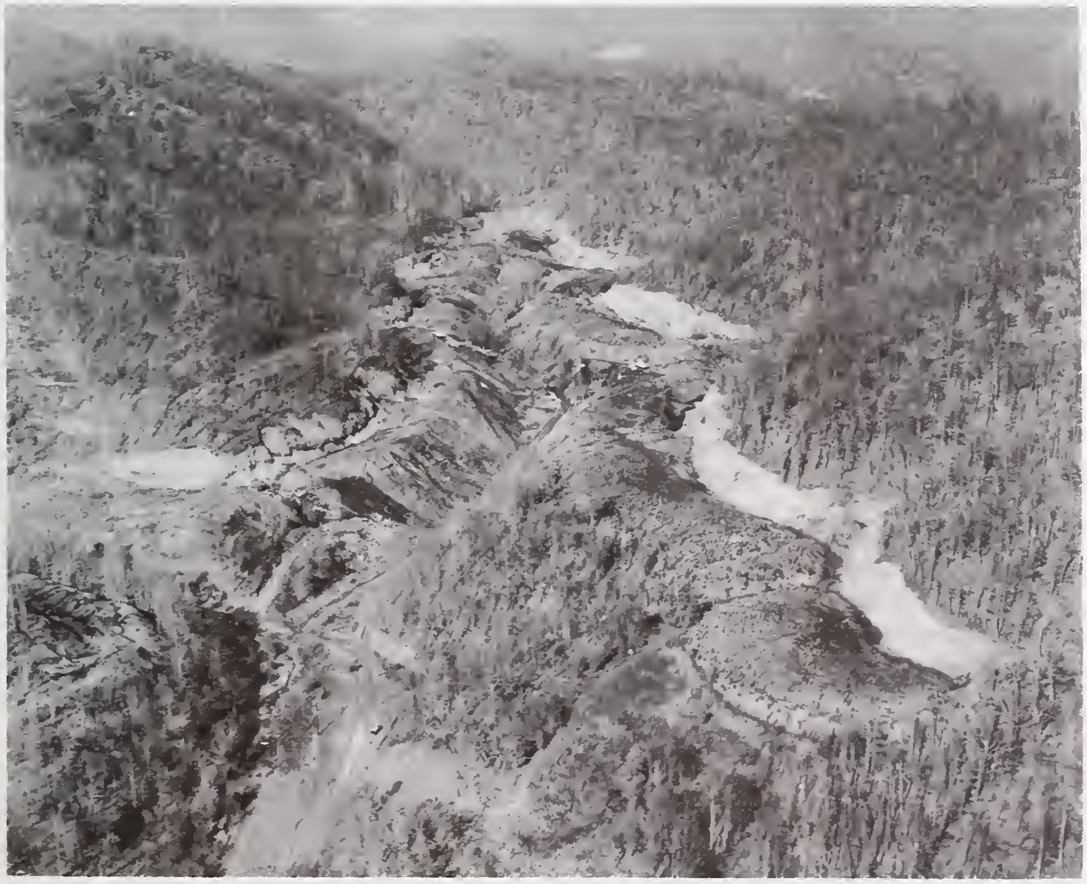


Figure 106.—Hillsides scarred by strip and auger coal mining along Beech Fork, Leslie County, Ky., in 1965. A common sight then in Redbird Purchase Unit. Acid soil debris leached down to pollute streams and kill fish for many years. New highway and old road cut slope at lower levels. (Forest Service photo F-512684)

Figure 107.—Strip coal mine spoil banks, partly reforested by planting, along Little Goose Creek in Leslie County, Ky., in 1965. At that time, more than 1,500 acres of strip mine tailings in the area were still in need of rehabilitation and revegetation. (Forest Service photo F-512685)

After 1965, LWCF appropriations became by far the chief source of money for National Forest land acquisitions. Between 1965 and 1977 an average of over $25 million per year was provided for National Forest acquisition from the fund.[64] By the end of 1973, 35 percent of the National Forest acres acquired through the LWCF were in Georgia, Kentucky, North Carolina, Virginia, and Tennessee.[65] In fiscal year 1976 conservation fund monies exceeded Weeks Act monies by a ratio of more than 25 to 1.[66] Increasingly, the Fund was used to purchase lands on the older Southern Appalachian National Forests with high recreational value, while Weeks Act appropriations were devoted to the Redbird Unit.[67] Table 18 summarizes the LWCF funds spent for land acquisitions in the Southern Appalachian National Forests during the first 14 years of the Fund, ending June 30, 1980.

Although land acquisition for National Forests in the Southern Appalachians continued throughout the 1960's and 1970's, large purchases were generally not made without a clear indication that they were approved by the local public. A case in point is a 46,000-acre tract largely in Bland County, Va., owned by Consolidation Coal Co., a subsidiary of Continental Oil Co. It was considered by the Commission in January 1972. Because the tract amounted to about one-fifth the land area of Bland County, the NFRC felt that evidence of public support for the purchase was necessary.[68]

The tract in question had been logged about 40 years before and contained only "a residual stand of poor quality timber." Manganese strip-mining had also occurred on the land, leaving behind a few small lakes. The tract was not being used for farming or grazing; it was mountain land with no ongoing commercial utility except some small-scale lumbering. However, its recreational potential was considered "great."[69]

Although the Virginia Commission for Outdoor Recreation favored Forest Service purchase, Bland County was divided on the issue. One-half of the letters to the Forest Service from local groups and individuals approved of the purchase, and the Bland County Board of Supervisors was split, two to two, on the acquisition. The opponents did not want to see the land removed from the tax rolls. The estimated loss of revenue from such removal was an annual $3,000, without considering timber harvesting. Although the tract contained poor second-growth timber, the Forest Service claimed it was suitable for immediate pulpwood harvesting, which would bring additional revenues. The NFRC recommended that the Bland County purchase be approved.[70] The area actually so acquired was about 40,000 acres.

Table 18.—Total lands acquired with Land and Water Conservation Act funds in National Forests of the Southern Appalachians, 1966-80

Forest	State	LWCF acquisition funds*
Chattahoochee	Georgia	$ 7,898,000
Daniel Boone	Kentucky	1,622,000
Nantahala	North Carolina	10,139,000
Pisgah	North Carolina	4,923,000
Cherokee	Tennessee	4,046,000
Jefferson	Virginia	16,106,000
Total		$44,734,000

*Rounded to nearest thousand. Fiscal year data.

Source: Data on National Forest lands acquired through LWCF monies: Heritage, Conservation, and Recreation Service, Department of the Interior, Washington, D.C.

Forest Commission Dissolved

Throughout the 1960's and early 1970's, the National Forest Reservation Commission was finding it nearly impossible to assemble the various cabinet members, senators, and congressmen, or even a quorum of their deputies, at the same time to consider National Forest land acquisitions. Approval was usually granted in "unassembled" meetings. Finally, in October 1976, the NFRC was dissolved. The National Forest Management Act of 1976 transferred its functions to the Secretary of Agriculture,[71] granting him authority to approve small, routine acquisitions, but requiring those of $25,000 or more to be submitted to the House Agriculture Committee and the Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry for a 30-day review.

The demise of NFRC marked a symbolic end of National Forest creation under the Weeks Act. After the Redbird Purchase Unit was added to Daniel Boone National Forest, acquisition of large cutover tracts at major stream headwaters virtually stopped. By 1975 most such lands in eastern watersheds not in Federal ownership were too expensive to buy or not for sale. Additions to eastern National Forests were thus increasingly based on other legal authority, and primarily for recreation—as will be discussed in chapter VIII.

Recent National Forest Timber Management

Although the demand for timber slackened in the immediate postwar years, the 1950's saw a steady rise in timber harvesting across the Nation as housing construction and timber exports increased. In 1952 the Forest Service, in cooperation with other Federal, State, and private agencies, began a new inventory and assessment of the country's timber resource known as the Timber Resource Review (TRR). The TRR report, published in final revised form in 1958, found that in 1952 growth of sawtimber was almost equal to the cut, and in the South and East, exceeded the cut. However, the report expressed serious concern over the ability of the nation's forests to meet future timber demands, which were projected to rise rapidly. Although the TRR report fell short of recommending regulation of harvesting procedures on private timberlands, it emphasized the need for increased National Forest production and more intensive timber management on lands of all ownerships.[72]

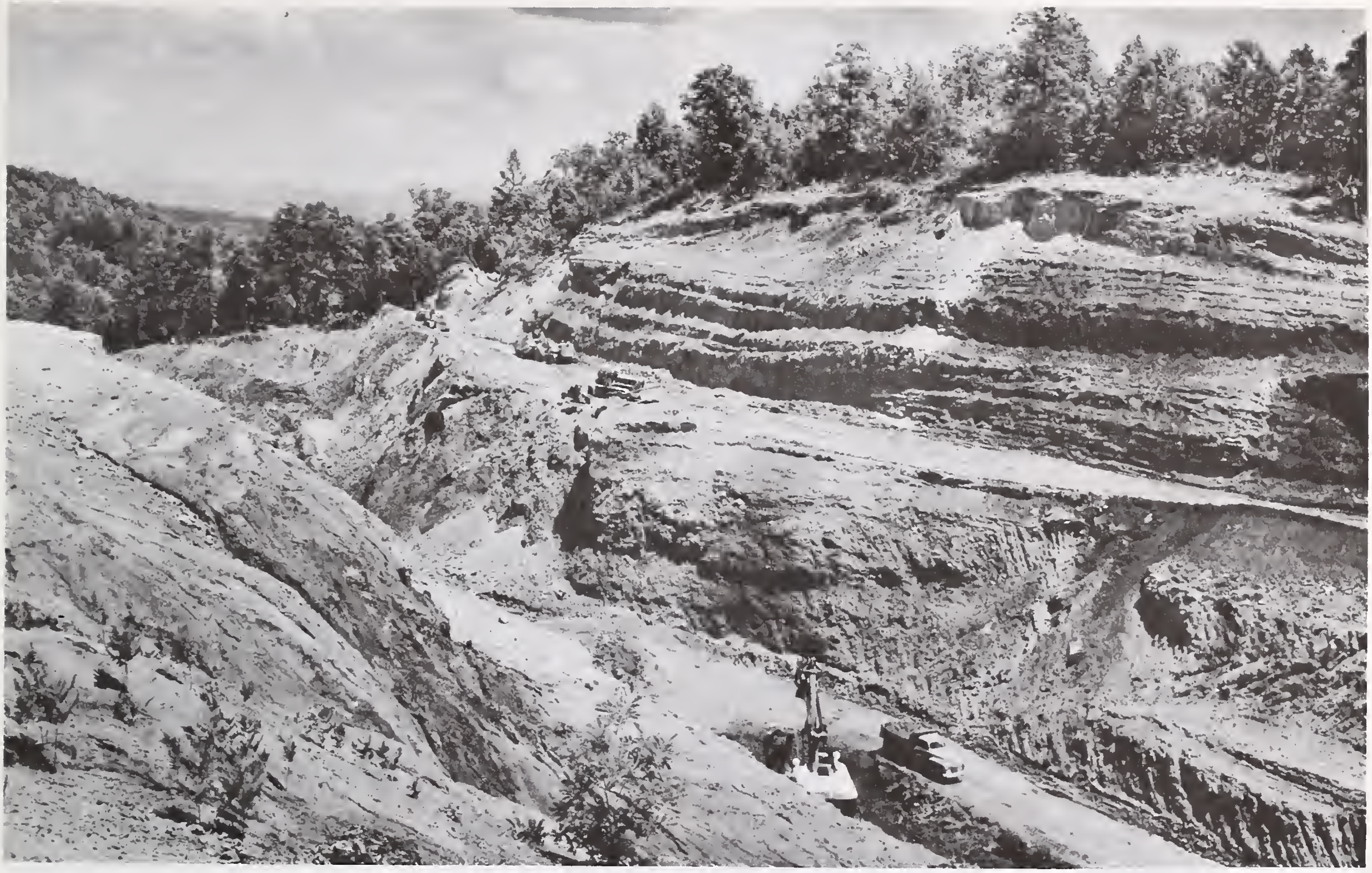


Figure 108.—Open mine of Manganese Mining & Contracting Company on Glade Mountain near Marion, Smyth County, Va., in Holston Ranger District of Jefferson National Forest, in July 1955. The firm operated under a Forest Service special-use permit, and maintained a settling pond to collect mine waste to avoid polluting streams. Mineral rights had been reserved on these lands when the land was sold to the Federal Government. (Forest Service photo F-479124)

At the same time, as discussed in chapter VI, pressures on the National Forests had been building for expanded outdoor recreational opportunities. In June 1958, shortly after the publication of the TRR report, President Eisenhower established the Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission (ORRRC) to inventory the nation's recreational resources. (ORRRC is discussed further in chapter VIII.) Meanwhile, the Forest Service was handling a multitude of problems connected with livestock grazing in the Western National Forests and was receiving increasing numbers of requests for special uses of Federal land, including the reservation of more wilderness. The combined pressures on the National Forests throughout the 1950's led to the drafting and eventual passage of the Multiple Use-Sustained Yield Act, which defined the purposes for which National Forests were established and administered,[73] mostly reaffirming long-standing Forest Service policies and practices. It was the organization's feeling that the Forest Service "had better get its national forest house in order" that prompted the legislation.[74]

The Multiple Use Act of 1960

The Multiple Use-Sustained Yield Act, enacted on June 12, 1960, stated five renewable resources or uses of the National Forests in alphabetical order: outdoor recreation, range (grazing of domestic livestock), timber, watershed, and wildlife and fish. (Mining was not mentioned; it is not a renewable use, and was not at the time felt to be in need of express encouragement.) In essence, the Act declared that National Forests do not exist for any single purpose and implied that no one resource should be overemphasized at the expense of others. The Multiple-Use Sustained Yield Act articulated the management ideals that the Forest Service had espoused for years: the *National Forests are to be managed for a variety of purposes, with an effort to sustain the benefits of each purpose for the longest possible period of time.* Although conflicts between purpoes (uses) are possible, they are to be resolved in favor of the long-term public interest—in Pinchot's paraphrase, "The greatest good of the greatest number in the long run."

Much has been written about the ambiguities inherent in the Multiple Use-Sustained Yield Act.[75] First, the Act states that the five purposes are "supplemental to but not in derogation of" the purposes stated in the so-called Organic Administration Act of 1897 that provided for management of the forest reserves. Those purposes were forest improvement and protection, securing favorable water flows, and a continuous timber supply. The Act also specifically protected prospecting and mining rights. There is some overlap between the two acts, and whether the more limited purposes stated in the 1897 Act should take precedence over those of the 1960 Act was publicly discussed after the latter's enactment.[76] Resolution of competing claims remained difficult. The more recent laws of the 1970's have clarified the situation substántially.

In addition, the 1960 Act's definition of multiple use was vague and simplistic. The criteria of flexibility in uses over time and continuous resource productivity can give "the unwary or ill-informed . . . the comforting illusion that if the uses are multiple enough there will be sufficient for everyone."[77] Moreover, the Act gives little specific direction as to how National Forests are actually to be managed, much less just how conflicts among purposes are to be resolved. Thus, some critics have charged that the multiple-use concept is a "facade behind which the Forest Service can operate to make decisions according to the relative strengths of clientele groups in a given area at a given time," or that it is a "blank check" to manage the National Forests as it sees fit.[78]

Certainly, the legislation was not so much a management tool as it was a statement allowing the Forest Service management flexibility while placating the multiple forest users. As Edward C. Crafts, Assistant Chief of the Forest Service during the 1950's, wrote:

> . . . there was a chance the various pressure groups might tend to offset each other to some degree. For example, the grazing people might like the bill because their interests would be equated with timber and recreation. Recreation and wilderness users should like it because it would raise them to a status equal to commercial users. The timber industry which had enjoyed preferential treatment would not like losing this preference, but on the other hand would be protected against being overridden roughshod by the recreation and wilderness enthusiasts. The bill contained a little something for everyone.[79]

Nevertheless, in spite of its ambiguity and openness to conflicting interpretation, the Act did express the fundamental approach of Congress and the Forest Service to managing lands under pressure from multiple interest groups and fast-growing U.S. population: a recognition of all the uses to which forests can be put (except mining), and an attempt to diversify land use—or prevent single use—wherever possible. As Richard E. McArdle, then Forest Service Chief, stated at the Fifth World Forestry Congress in August 1960, "in most instances forest land is not fully serving the people if used exclusively for a purpose which could also be achieved in combination with several other uses."[80] McArdle conceded that multiple use is not "a panacea," but he pointed out that because it helps considerably to overcome problems of scarcity and resolve conflicts of interest, it is the "best management for most of the publicly owned forest lands of the United States."[81]

Difficult to Promote Private Forestry

Against the background of potentially conflicting management directives inherent in the Multiple Use-Sustained Yield Act, Forest Service management of the Southen Appalachian forests became increasingly complex through the 1960's. The complexity was compounded by the development initiatives encouraged by the President's Appalachian Regional Commission. In 1963 PARC recommended that a timber resource development program for the whole Appalachian region be launched "on a scale far greater than ever before."[82] This program would involve an accelerated effort on both National Forests and on State and private lands. Specifically recommended initiatives were reforestation, timber stand improvement, construction of access roads, and the location and marking of property boundaries, as well as firebreak construction and erosion control. PARC estimated that more than 37,000 man-years of employment would be involved in the initial 5 year effort, and that more than $240 million should be spent.[83]

The Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965 creating the new Commission with expanded powers made a specific provision for technical assistance to be given for the organization and operation of private "timber development organizations." Timber development organizations were conceived as nonprofit corporations that would manage the timber resources of participating private landowners. One of the first research reports prepared for ARC was an evaluation of such organizations as a source of regional economic benefits.

The report concluded that, because sawmilling dominated the timbering industry of Appalachia—not pulpwood, plywood, or the like—and because of "restrictions imposed by timber availability, timber procurement economics, and requirements for timber quality," the industry was not expected to grow.[84] Furthermore, private forest lands were found to be in "multiple thousands of small size holdings," and many of the region's timber owners unmotivated to improve their long-term productivity. "Feelings of disinterest and mistrust" often characterized sales transactions, as well as "a propensity toward overengagement in dickering and negotiation." For these reasons, consolidating private timber holdings and turning their management over to second parties did not seem feasible, and timber development organizations were proclaimed "not . . . viable in sufficient numbers to yield substantial economic benefits to Appalachia."[85]

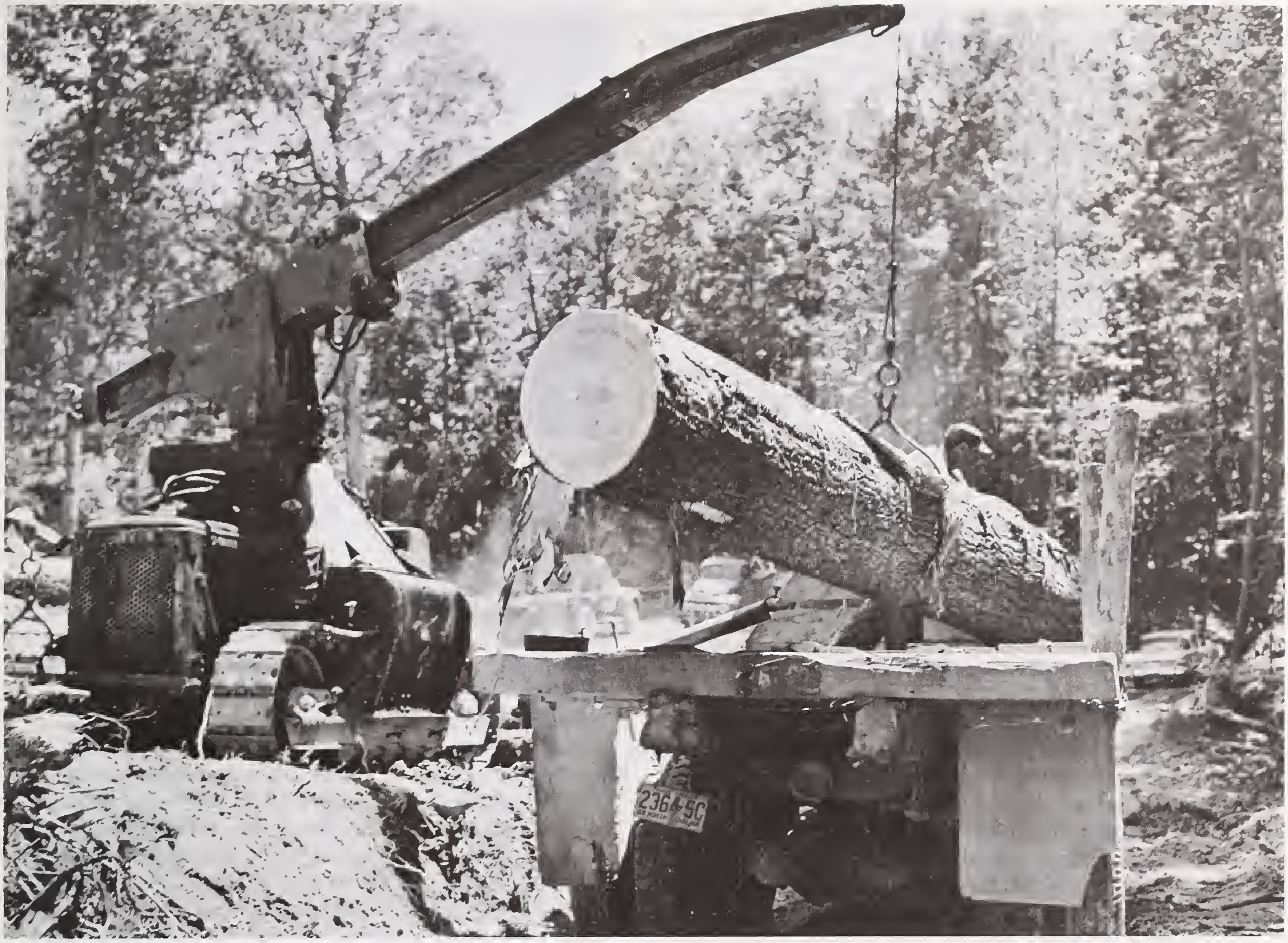


Figure 109.—Tractor-mounted power loader dropping a big white pine sawlog onto a truck at a Forest Service timber sale in Hurricane Gap section of Nolichucky Ranger District, Cherokee National Forest on the Tennessee-North Carolina State line adjoining Hot Springs Ranger District of Pisgah National Forest, in May 1962. (Forest Service photo F-502185)

This finding serves to emphasize the stabilizing role of Federal land managed for a variety of uses in the development of the Appalachian timber resource. Clearly, the National Forests did not exhibit the fragmented ownership, lack of owner motivation, and poor resource quality that characterized the private timber industry. Nevertheless, because of their timber composition, Southern Appalachian forests could not then be managed in the same way that Pacific forests and Southern coastal forests were. Appalachian forests did not at that time contain nearly the proportion of commercial timber acreage that the Western and the Southern piedmont and coastal forests did. Much was low-quality, second-growth hardwood, the product of a history of repeated "selective" cuttings, actually destructive "high-grading" in most cases, that left behind the undesirable and damaged individuals and species. Further, the quality hardwood that was present had a fairly long rotation cycle: between 40 and 80 years for sawtimber-sized trees.[86]

Nevertheless, the Appalachian National Forests continued to provide resources for the small local wood processors. Small sales, of less than $2,000 in value, generally exceeded the larger sales in value by a factor of four to one, although there was considerable variation from forest to forest. For example, in fiscal year 1960, the only year for which comparable data were readily available, there were no sales of greater than $2,000 in value on the Daniel Boone or Cherokee National Forests, and on the Chattahoochee, only a handful; whereas, on the Nantahala and Pisgah, the value of "large" sales was nearly equal to that of small ones.[87] It is interesting to note that large timber sales in the western North Carolina and northern Georgia forests were dominated by one company, the Ritter Lumber Co., which had been operating in the area since 1900.

For both small and large lumber firms, logging in the National Forests could not be described as a lucrative business, in part because the process of sealed bidding often elevated timber prices; in part because of the restrictions placed on the logger. As George Hicks wrote in *Appalachian Valley* about logging in North Carolina:

> Work in timber continues to provide a living for some local men, but it is seasonal and sporadic employment . . . When a local man, for example, won timber rights to a large tract of national forest land in 1965 by submitting a bid far above all others, it was generally agreed by those who make their living in cutting timber that he "might *just* come out even" and perhaps make a slim profit only because he and his five adult sons would work together. If he were to hire labor, he would surely lose money.[88]

Moreover, as it did nationwide, the Forest Service placed restrictions on the size and type of logging roads, requiring piling and burning of slash, and specified the methods of timber extraction—to protect the environment, reduce danger of fire, and assure reproduction—all of which increased the cost of logging. This is even more true today.

Even-Aged Management Becomes Standard

In the early 1960's—under policy directives to increase National Forest timber production, with the support of long-awaited new silvicultural research findings, a more stringent need for economy and efficiency in harvesting, and with demand increasing from the region's pulpwood industry—clearcutting in patches (called even-aged management by foresters) became a more prominent practice of timber management in the Southern Appalachian forests, where mild climate, heavy rainfall, and generally good soils help insure rapid regrowth. Indeed, by the middle of the decade, it was the chief method of timber harvesting nationwide on National Forests, as it had nearly always been on private forests, and by 1969 accounted for about 50 percent of the harvested timber volume on eastern National Forests.[89] However, it was over such cutting in an Appalachian forest—the Monongahela National Forest in West Virginia, along with others in Montana and Wyoming—that the practice actually became a national controversy. The debate over clearcutting or patch cutting, which persisted through the 1960's and into the 1970's, illustrates the kind of difficulty that multiple-use management could bring, and points to the special qualities of Southern Appalachian forests that help explain why they would increasingly become the focus of management controversy.

Scientific clearcutting in patches, or even-age management, is a silvicultural technique that has been in practice for centuries. All the trees within a given area of limited extent are cut, regardless of age, species, or size, so that the stand that replaces them will be even-aged and will mature at the same time. Forest regrowth is assured by natural or artificial seeding, or by planting. The advantages of the technique over true selective cutting, shelterwood, or seed-tree methods are: improved regulation of stands, encouragement of growth for valuable sun-loving shade-intolerant timber species—such as yellow-poplar in the East and Douglas-fir in the West, control of disease, and economy of cutting.[90]

Figure 110.—Forest Service specialists mapping soil types on aerial photos during a field survey in Pisgah National Forest, N.C., in February 1965. Uniform shoulder patch was new at the time. (Forest Service photo F-513936)

With this cutting system accounting for about half the harvest, timber sales increased markedly in the Southern Appalachians during the 1960's. Data on the volume and value of timber sold from fiscal years 1960 to 1969 in the Jefferson and Daniel Boone National Forests, for example, show a steady increase over the decade.[91] The volume of timber sold in the Jefferson nearly tripled from 13,070 million board feet in 1960 to 38,752 million board feet in 1969. On the Daniel Boone the increase in volume was from 18,726 million board feet to 41,384. (The value of the timber sold similarly tripled and doubled respectively.) Thus, although the total acres cut in the Southern Appalachian National Forests were but a small percent of the region's total forest, the increase in timber harvesting made this system more visible.[92]

Public reaction to patch clearcutting in the Monongahela National Forest began with the objections of squirrel and turkey hunters to losing some of their favorite densely forested habitats, which years of Forest Service protection had fostered.[93] The objections reached the West Virginia legislature, which passed a resolution in 1964 calling for a study of timber management practices on the Monongahela. Over the next 7 years, despite several such resolutions and studies, and numerous requests to change the system, the Forest Service continued to practice even-aged management there, with some modifications. The issue broadened its scope and base, as national interest groups became involved there and in the West. The press and other media provided extensive and usually highly critical coverage. Eventually the clearcutting controversy resulted in heated and extensive Congressional hearings and litigation.

Lawsuit Forces New Forestry Act

In 1974 a Federal District Court judge in West Virginia ruled the Forest Service in violation of the Organic Act of 1897 (which permitted the harvesting of dead, mature, or large trees); its ruling was upheld by the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals in 1975, which noted that if changes in the law were needed it was up to Congress to make them. The appeal ruling forced Congress to act, prompting passage of the National Forest Management Act of 1976. The Act repealed the restrictions on timber harvesting declared in the 79-year-old Organic Administration Act, set more specific requirements for management planning, thereby amending the 1974 Resources Planning Act, and established guidelines for timber harvesting. Patch clearcutting on National Forests was not forbidden, but was permitted only when determined optimal and under environmental constraints.

By the last half of the 1970's, because of harvesting delays caused by litigation and new rules, timber harvesting in the Southern Appalachian National Forests was reduced below the annual levels of the previous 10 years. On the Daniel Boone and Jefferson National Forests, for example, the volume of timber sold dropped to pre-1964 levels in fiscal years 1977, 1978, and 1979. (On the Jefferson, less timber was sold in 1979 than had been sold in 1960.) Integrated planning on an increased scale to give more concern to wildlife, esthetics, and watershed protection, and changes in road design and harvesting practices to assure minimum environmental impact, plus many studies for new wilderness proposals and increased public participation in decision-making all slowed down timber sales.

Throughout the 1960's and until the mid-1970's, the Forest Service's required 25-percent payments to counties continued to reflect timber sales and, as such, fluctuated with the rise and subsequent fall in timbercutting.[94] In only two of the six study counties with a high percentage of National Forests (Graham and Macon) did 25-percent payments per-acre increase overall from 1961 and 1975. In the other four, per-acre payments rose to a peak in the years between 1965 and 1970, and then fell close to their 1961 level. In Union County, for example, per-acre payments rose from $0.26 in 1961 to a peak of $0.38 in 1967; in 1975 the payment was $0.18 per acre. Similar fluctuations applied to counties with little or no National Forest acreage. In 1975 none of the study counties received more than $0.29 per acre in 25-percent payments.[95]

The Appalachian counties' dissatisfaction with the fluctuating and often paltry compensation for Federal landownership drew national attention in the 1970's. The Public Land Law Review Commission report, *One Third of the Nation's Land*, issued in 1970, summarized the inequity of the reimbursement system:

> The study made for this commission confirms the contention of state and county government officials that shared revenues amount to less than the revenues they would collect if the lands were in private ownership and subject to taxation.[96]

Nevertheless, the PLLRC report concluded, it does not follow that these payments should be equal to full tax equivalency. Although they are difficult to calculate, direct and indirect benefits go to counties with Federal land—such as special land use permits, fire protection, and road construction and maintenance. The Commission considered that fair payment for Federal land in lieu of taxes should equal 60 to 90 percent of the amount necessary to provide full tax equivalency.[97]

In 1974, Si Kahn, who learned of the 25-percent payment through VISTA volunteers in northern Georgia, published *The Forest Service and Appalachia*, a tract railing against the unfairness of the Federal payment to National Forest counties.[98] Although Kahn challenged several Forest Service acquisition and management policies, his basic charge was that the tax-exempt status of vast National Forest lands had weakened the counties' tax bases, increased the burden on local landowners, and threatened the ability of the counties to govern themselves.[99]

Congress Raises Payments to Counties

Two years after Kahn's publication was released, Congress passed the Payments In Lieu of Taxes Act.[100] Under this Act, counties would receive the higher of $0.75 per acre of entitled Federal land minus certain payments received under 10 specified laws, or $0.10 per acre without those deductions, both subject to a ceiling based on county population. One of the specified laws was the original Act of 1908 first authorizing Forest Service payments to States from receipts of National Forest land, as amended.

Thus, for Southern Appalachian timber-harvest-poor counties that had been receiving less than $0.30 per acre from Forest Service payments prior to 1976, the In-Lieu Act qualified them for the difference between that previous allotment and $0.75 per National Forest acre. The Bureau of Land Management would be the actual disbursing agent of In-Lieu funds; the States would continue to provide to the counties the recommended Forest Service 25 percent-of-receipts payments, which would literally be subtracted from the $0.75-per-acre amount due.

Table 19 illustrates the difference in such revenues between 1975 and post-In-Lieu years for five of the 12 selected study counties. For most, the new total payments represent a 400- or 500-percent increase from pre-1976 revenues. The importance of the In-Lieu additional payment can be seen in the example of Graham County, where 25-percent payments ranged between $4,885 and $36,296 over only 4 years. The In-Lieu payment gave Graham County an assured, steady revenue.

However, whether an assured, steady revenue of $0.75 per acre from Federal lands is necessarily fair is open to question. One problem is that, in spite of the increased revenue, timber-poor counties are still penalized. That is, counties with vast timber sales (for example, in the Pacific Northwest) can elect to receive $0.10 from the Bureau of Land Management and still receive the 25-percent Forest Service payment, yielding well above $0.75 per acre. In addition, the issue of whether even the $0.75 per acre adequately compensates a county for lost property taxes remains unclear.[101]

A recent study sponsored by the Appalachian Regional Commission, which includes several county case studies, states that Swain and Clay Counties, N.C., which are 80 percent and nearly 50 percent Federally owned, respectively, would receive an average of $1.22 per acre from out-of-State private owners if Federal lands were in their hands. However, the counties receive only $0.75 for their National Forest land. The study claims that $98,182 per year is being denied the two counties even if the Federal Government would pay the low out-of-state corporate tax rate instead of the $0.75 per acre.[102]

Similarly, the report states that, "if the 70,000 acres owned by the Forest Service in Bland County were taxed at the same rate as land owned by county residents, the county would realize an additional $16,000, a substantial increase for a county of 6,000."[103] In 1980, Bland County, which is 30 percent federally owned, received $451,487 revenue from property taxes versus $47,122 from the In-Lieu and 25-percent payments combined.[104] In Union County, Ga., the tax assessor asserted that property taxes yield about $800,000 in annual revenues; whereas, In-Lieu payments for National Forest land—which account for nearly half the total county acreage—yield only about $55,000[105] (He failed to mention the 25-percent payment to Union County, although for the last few years it has been small.)

While In-Lieu payments in the Southern Appalachian National Forest counties generally have not equaled property tax revenues for private lands, less tangible benefits must also be considered. These include increased revenues from tourism (which will be addressed in the next chapter), the value of wildlife and hunting, the value of forest products, and watershed control.[106] Furthermore, such adverse effects as may be traced to Federal landownership must be compared with the effects of any absentee ownership, whether corporate or individual. As this chapter has suggested, and chapter VIII will further consider, the economic and social problems that many Southern Appalachian counties have faced may be more, or as, attributable to private absentee landownership, and the resource exploitation that accompanies it, than they are to Federal ownership of land.

Table 19.—Payments made from the 25 percent and in-lieu funds to 5 of the 12 selected Southern Appalachian counties, 1975-80

	Union County Georgia	Graham County North Carolina	McCreary County Kentucky	Habersham County Georgia	Henderson County North Carolina
1980 National Forest acreage	95,604	112,479	154,563	40,009	17,296
			Dollars		
Payments in 1976:					
25% fund from 1975 receipts	17,374	32,774	24,554	7,194	2,756
Payments in 1977:					
25% fund from 1976 receipts	11,760	18,755	25,995	4,867	3,205
In-Lieu fund	59,959	64,975	103,425	24,817	9,952
Total	71,719	83,730	129,420	29,684	13,157
Payments in 1978:					
25% fund from 1977 receipts	5,158	4,885	9,545	2,135	403
In-lieu fund	66,549	78,922	107,133	27,549	12,754
Total	71,707	83,807	116,678	29,684	13,157
Payments in 1979:					
25% fund from 1978 receipts	17,731	36,296	26,088	7,340	1,472
In-lieu fund	53,956	47,598	90,590	22,656	11,685
Total	71,687	83,894	116,678	29,996	13,157
Payments in 1980:					
25% fund from 1979 receipts	17,038	30,577	13,569	7,114	1,853
In-lieu fund	54,664	53,696	110,330	22,893	11,304
Total	71,702	84,273	123,899	30,007	13,157

Source: Fiscal and Accounting Management Staff, Forest Service, USDA, Washington, D.C. Fiscal year data.

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(In the following notes, the expression "NA, RG 95, FS, OC, NFRC" means National Archives, Record Group 95, Forest Service, Office of the Chief, National Forest Reservation Commission. "WNRC, FS" means Washington National Records Center, Records of the Forest Service. See Bibliography, IX.)

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58. NA, RG 95, FS, OC, NFRC, Minutes, January 17, 1975.

59. NA, RG 95, FS, OC, NFRC, Minutes, February 23, 1973.

60. NA, RG 95, FS, OC, NFRC, Final Report, pp. 6, 7.

61. NA, RG 95, FS, OC, NFRC, Minutes, January 15, 1969.

62. NA, RG 95, FS, OC, NFRC, Minutes, July 8, 1971.

63. Land and Water Conservation Fund Act, 78 Stat. 897.

64. NA, RG 95, FS, OC, NFRC, Final Report, p. 4.

65. Records on Land and Water Conservation Fund purchases, Headquarters, Chattahoochee National Forest, Gainesville, Ga.

66. NA, RG 95, FS, OC, NFRC, Final Report of the National Forest Reservation Commission, p. 4.

67. NA, RG 95, FS, OC, NFRC, Minutes, March 15, 1972.

68. NA, RG 95, FS, OC, NFRC, Minutes, January 26, 1972.

69. NA, RG 95, FS, OC, NFRC, Minutes, January 26, 1972, 3, 4.

70. Si Kahn wrote about this tract in *The Forest Service and Appalachia*, pp. 60-65. Kahn quotes several residents who were opposed to the federal purchase, which, Kahn says, the Forest Service "pushed through" in spite of the opposition.

71. National Forest Management Act of 1976, 90 Stat. 2949.

72. Edward C. Crafts, "Saga of a Law," *American Forests* 76 (June 1970); and Steen, *The U.S. Forest Service,* pp. 285-289.

73. The Multiple Use-Sustained Yield Act, 74 Stat. 215.

74. Crafts, "Saga of a Law," p. 15; for additional background to the legislation, see Steen, *The U.S. Forest Service,* Chapter XI.

75. See, for example, Marion Clawson, *Forests For Whom and For What?* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975); Shands and Healy, *The Lands Nobody Wanted*, pp. 121-124; Glen O. Robinson, *The Forest Service* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975) pp. 56-58; Crafts, "Saga of a Law;" and *Federal Agencies and Outdoor Recreation*, pp. 27-29.

76. Michael McCloskey, "Note and Comment: National Resources—National Forests—The Multiple Use-Sustained Yield Act of 1960," *Oregon Law Review* 41 (December 1961): 71-73.

77. *Federal Agencies and Outdoor Recreation*, p. 28.

78. *Federal Agencies and Outdoor Recreation*, p. 28.

79. Crafts, "Saga of a Law," p. 17.

80. Richard E. McArdle, "The Concept of Multiple Use of Forest and Associated Lands—Its Value and Limitations," Fifth World Forestry Congress, Seattle, Wash., August 29, 1960, p. 4.

81. R. E. McArdle, "The Concept of Multiple Use," p. 7.

82. Washington National Records Center, Forest Service Records, Acc. No. 67A4805, Planning—President's Appalachian Regional Commission, "Program Highlights—The Timber Situation in Brief," November 27, 1963, p. vii.

83. Program Highlights, viii-xi.

84. Appalachian Regional Commission, *Evaluation of Timber Development Organizations*, Research Report No. 1. Prepared for the Appalachian Regional Commission by McDonald Associates, Inc., November 1, 1966, p. iv.

85. *Evaluation of Timber*, vi-vii.

86. Shands and Healy, *The Lands Nobody Wanted*, pp. 27-31; Clawson, *Forests For Whom and For What?*, p. 49. It was not selective cutting in the proper, professional, silvicultural sense.

87. "F.Y. 1960 Sales—Classified by Small and Large Business." Timber Management Staff, USDA, Forest Service, Washington, D.C.

88. George L. Hicks, *Appalachian Valley*, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1976), p. 27.

89. Glen O. Robinson, *The Forest Service*, p. 76.

90. Robinson, *The Forest Service*, 76-85.

91. "Volume and Value Timber Sold and Cut by Regions, Forests, States," for FY 1960-FY 1969. Timber Management Staff, USDA Forest Service. Data on the Daniel Boone and Jefferson are not available in the same form for the other Southern Appalachian forests.

92. Between 1968 and 1973, about 13 percent of National Forest land in Region 8 were cut. Shands and Healy, *The Lands Nobody Wanted*, p. 30. Postwar public reaction to lumbering is summarized in Steen, *The U.S. Forest Service*, p. 302.

93. Sidney Weitzman, *Lessons From the Monongahela Experience*. An In-Service Analysis Based on Interviews with Forest Service Personnel, December 1977; Robinson, *The Forest Service*, pp. 78-80.

94. "Volume Timber Cut and Sold—MFB," F.Y. 1977, F.Y. 1978, F.Y. 1979. Timber Management Staff, USDA Forest Service, Washington, D.C.

95. Data on 25-percent payments: Fiscal and Accounting Management Staff, USDA Forest Service, Washington, D.C.

96. Public Land Law Review Commission, *One Third of the Nation's Land* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1970), pp. 236, 237.

97. PLLRC, *One Third of the Nation's Land*, p. 238.

98. Si Kahn, *The Forest Service and Appalachia*. (See note 70.)

99. Kahn, *The Forest Service and Appalachia*, 1-6.

100. 90 Stat. 2662. The 1908 Act was 35 Stat. 260; it was modified by the Weeks Act (36 Stat. 963).

101. Shands and Healy, *The Lands Nobody Wanted*, pp. 230, 231.

102. Appalachian Regional Commission, *North Carolina State Report*, Preliminary Draft For the Land Ownership Task Force of the Appalachian Alliance, 1980, p. 28.

103. Appalachian Regional Commission, *Land Ownership and Property Taxation in Virginia*. Prepared by Tracey Weis for the Appalachian Land Ownership Task Force, November 1980, p. 62.

104. Letter to authors from Dorothy M. Wright, Treasurer, Bland County, Va., January 27, 1981.

105. Telephone interview with Office of Tax Commissioner, Union County, Blairsville, Ga., January, 1981.

106. See, for example, *Land Ownership and Property Taxation in Virginia*, p. 62. Appalachian Regional Commission.

Chapter VIII

Recreational Development of the Southern Appalachians: 1960-81

The recreational development of the Southern Appalachian Mountains during the 1960's and 1970's was extensive. It brought widespread changes in landownership patterns, greater visitation and use of the region's forests, and a vocal, organized, and critical response from the Southern Appalachian mountaineer. After 1965 the Federal Government provided millions of dollars from the Land and Water Conservation Fund to acquire private lands. Then a series of Federal laws established National Recreation Areas, Wild and Scenic Rivers, a National Trail, and finally confirmed and extended wilderness areas in the region's National Forests. At the same time, second-home builders and resort developers helped increase the pattern of absentee landownership already typical of the region. In response to the accelerating loss of private and locally held land and local land-use control, residents throughout the mountains organized to protest. The people of the Southern Appalachians now seemed much more determined to resist giving up ownership of land than they had been in the past.

As discussed in chapter VI, outdoor recreation became more and more a national pursuit and a national concern after World War II, as the spendable income, leisure time, and mobility of Americans increased rapidly. Concern with the Nation's ability to satisfy recreational demands was expressed in Federal legislation in June 1958, when President Eisenhower created the Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission (ORRRC).[1] The Commission's task was to inventory and evaluate America's outdoor recreational resources, both current and future, and to provide comprehensive information and recommendations so that the necessary quality and quantity of resources could be assured to all. It was composed of four senators, four congressmen, and seven private citizens.

The Commission's immense report was issued in 1961, in 27 volumes. In essence, it found that America's recreational needs were not being effectively met, and that since future demands would accelerate, money and further study were needed at the Federal, State, and local levels. The Commission provided more than 50 specific recommendations, which can be grouped into five general categories. These were: (1) the establishment of a national outdoor recreation policy, (2) guidelines for the management of outdoor recreation, (3) increased acquisition of recreational lands and development of recreational facilities, (4) a grants-in-aid program to the States for recreational development, and (5) the establishment of a (Federal) Bureau of Outdoor Recreation.[2]

Bureau of Outdoor Recreation Is Created

During the next 10 years, virtually all the ORRRC recommendations were enacted. In April 1962 the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation (BOR) was established in the Department of the Interior.[3] Edward C. Crafts, former Assistant Chief of the Forest Service, became its first Director. The Bureau's purpose was to coordinate the recreational activities of the Federal Government under a multitude of agencies and to provide guidance to the States in planning and funding recreational development. At the same time a policymaking Recreation Advisory Council was established by executive order. It was composed of the Secretaries of the Interior, Agriculture, Defense, and Health, Education and Welfare, and the Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency.[4] The Outdoor Recreation Act of 1963 was passed to expedite coordination of recreational planning by Federal agencies and initiate a comprehensive national recreation plan.[5] A year later, the Land and Water Conservation Fund Act was passed to provide funds for Federal and State recreational development.

This heavy Federal legislative and administrative emphasis on outdoor recreation was to have a decided impact on the Southern Appalachians during the 1960's and 1970's. Many of the Federal recreation programs and dollars spent on recreation were channeled into the region. The number of annual visitors to the southern mountain forests rose substantially, as increased recreational development—both public and private—increased tourist attractions and investment possibilities. In addition, the renewal of Federal funding for recreation made land acquisition appear much more urgent than it had previously been for general National Forest purposes. Consequently, the Forest Service decided to exercise its condemnation power as a final option, if needed, to acquire especially worthy sites from owners unwilling to sell. Such condemnation aroused residents in several areas, many of whom organized for the first time in often bitter protest of Federal land acquisition policies.

Since the early 1900's, with the genesis of the movements for National Parks in the Great Smoky and Blue Ridge Mountains and for the Blue Ridge Parkway, the recreational potential of the region's natural resources had been well recognized. By 1960, decades of Federal land acquisition throughout the region had put together very large tracts close to the Eastern Seaboard that appeared ripe for recreational development.

Studies conducted for the Appalachian Regional Commission were somewhat contradictory. One made for ARC by the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation in 1966-67 declared the Southern Appalachian region had great potential to provide for rapidly rising demands for public recreation. The study, in estimating demand for outdoor recreation from 373 counties and parts of 53 Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas within 125 miles of Appalachia, calculated that to meet 1967 needs, at least 600,000 more acres were required for boating, 20,000 acres for camping, and 30,000 for picknicking. By the year 2000, it predicted, the recreational demands placed on the region would be "staggering"; thus, an intensive effort was believed necessary to provide recreational supplies to meet the demands. However, another study, made jointly by two private firms less than a year earlier for ARC, had warned *against* major public investment.[6]

The Land and Water Conservation Fund (LWCF), established in September 1964, was the principal Federal step taken to meet these perceived recreational demands.[7] The Fund, administered by the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation, could be used for Federal acquisition of lands and waters—or interests in lands and waters such as scenic easements. The properties would be used to create National Recreation Areas in the National Parks and in the National Forests and to purchase private inholdings in the National Forests "primarily of value for outdoor recreation purposes" including wilderness.[8] The ORRRC report had stressed the need to rectify the imbalance between the abundance of Federal recreation lands in the West and their scarcity in the East. The Land and Water Conservation Fund was to address the need.[9] Within the Southern Appalachian forests, LWCF monies were used in the Mount Rogers National Recreation Area in southwestern Virginia, the Wild and Scenic Rivers System, and the Appalachian Trail. The Mount Rogers NRA was perhaps the most visible and most controversial use of LWCF funds in the region.

National Recreation Areas (NRA's) were first conceived and established by the President's Recreation Advisory Council. The first NRA's created in 1963, were administered by the National Park Service, and were principally based on a large reservoir, such as Lake Mead above Hoover (Boulder) Dam on the lower Colorado River. NAR's were defined to be spacious areas of not less than 20,000 acres, designed to achieve a high recreational carrying capacity, located within 250 miles of urban population centers. Each was to be established by an individual act of Congress.[10] The first National Recreation Area in the Appalachians was the Spruce Knob-Seneca Rocks NRA, established in September 1965 in the Monongahela National Forest in West Virginia. The Mount Rogers NRA, centered on Whitetop Mountain and Mount Rogers—the highest point in Virginia—was established in the Jefferson National Forest on May 31, 1966.[11]

Mount Rogers National Recreation Area

The Mount Rogers NRA was originally conceived as an intensely developed recreational complex of 150,000 acres with a 63-mile scenic highway, campgrounds, and nearby reservoirs. (Two of these reservoirs were part of the proposed Blue Ridge Project on the New River, to be discussed later.) Mount Rogers was expected not only to help satisfy future regional demands for outdoor recreation, but also to provide an economic boost to the economy of southwestern Virginia. As the Secretary of Agriculture stated in congressional testimony on the NRA:

> The counties involved [in the NRA] are in areas of continued and substantial unemployment and a relatively low rate of economic activity. A national recreation area will benefit this situation both immediately and in the long run through the inflow of funds and accelerated development and intensified administration and the upbuilding of a permanent economic base oriented to full utilization of all the national forest resources.[12]

However, the scope and intensity of development originally planned for Mount Rogers were not realized. The Forest Service finally shifted its priorities away from encouraging more motorized recreation such as those activities enabled by reservoirs and scenic highways, to more active, "dispersed" recreation, such as canoeing and backpacking[13] This shift is reflected in recreational use data by type of activity for two representative Southern Appalachian forests, the Cherokee in eastern Tennessee and the Chattahoochee in northern Georgia. For both forests between 1968 and 1980, automobile traveling declined somewhat, not in volume but as a percentage of all recreational activities. In the Cherokee, the decline was from 18 percent to 15 percent; in the Chattahoochee, it was from 22 to 19 percent. On the other hand, hiking more than doubled as a percentage of all recreational activities: in the Cherokee from 2.4 to 8 percent, in the Chattahoochee, from 4 to 8.9 percent.[14]

The legislation establishing the Mount Rogers NRA provided for acquisition of such lands, waters, or interests in them, by purchase, donation, exchange, transfer, or condemnation, as the Secretary of Agriculture deemed "needed or desirable."[15] The Land and Water Conservation Fund was to be used as the source of acquisition monies. The final Forest Service-developed plan for the NRA called for Federal ownership of 123,500 acres within the approximately 154,000-acre NRA boundary. By 1966 much of the desired acreage had already been acquired; some 58,000 acres were deemed "needed or desirable" to complete the future NRA.[16]

The defined "need" was based on the premise of protection, as the Secretary of Agriculture explained to Congress:

> To fully develop and assure maximum public use and enjoyment of all the resources of this area, there will need to be come consolidation of landownership. The present ownership pattern, particularly in the immediate vicinity of Mount Rogers, precludes effective development for public use. Acquisition of intermingled private forest and meadowlands and of needed access and rights-of-way is essential to fully develop the outdoor recreation potential by protecting the outstanding scenic, botanical, and recreational qualities of the area . . .[17]

Of the approximately 58,000 desired acres remaining in private lands, the Forest Service estimated acquiring about 32,000 "during the next several years." Of the other 26,000, it was hoped that scenic easements could be used for a good portion, although the exact amount of land to be acquired or easements obtained could not be estimated. However, no scenic easements were obtained during the next 15 years. At the end of 1981 the first easement was acquired, 20 acres along a road in the Brushy Creek area, and another easement on a similar small tract was in the process of being acquired. The new plan for the NRA places strong emphasis upon scenic easements.[18]

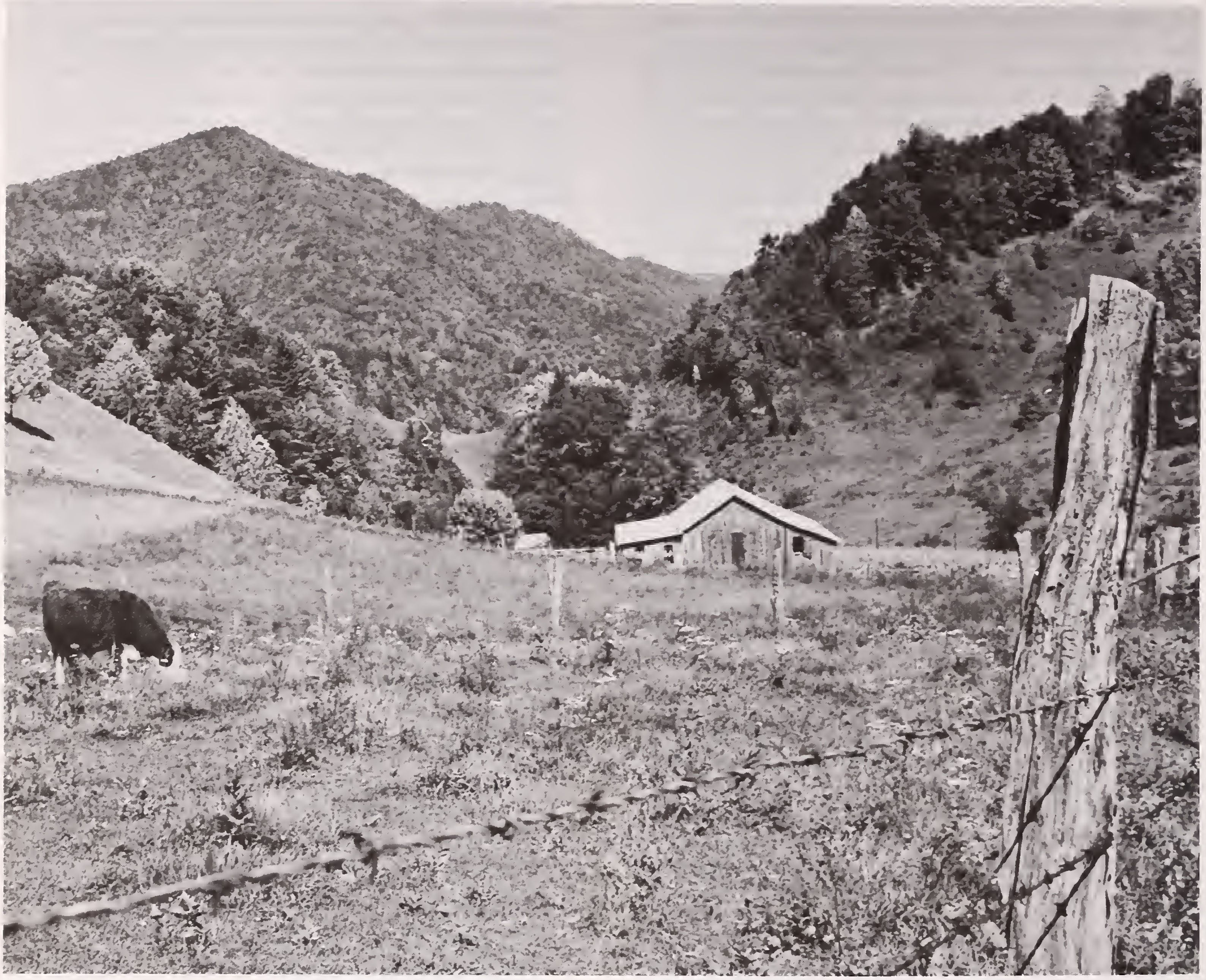


Figure 111.—Hereford cattle grazing in mountain pasture adjoining Jefferson National Forest near Taylors Valley, Washington County, Va., between Damascus and Konnarock, close to the Tennessee State line and the present Mt. Rogers National Recreation Area administered by the Forest Service, in November 1966. White pine and northern hardwoods are visible on nearby slopes and ridges. (Forest Service photo F-515652)

Between 1967 and early 1981, approximately 25,000 more acres in 312 separate transactions were acquired for the Mount Rogers NRA. The lands selected for acquisition were generally in stream and river valleys where developed recreation facilities (campgrounds, roads, trails, parking, and picnic areas) could be located, and where the Forest Service generally had not previously acquired land. The acquisition process proceeded gradually over a 15-year period, dependent upon the funds available for purchase (mostly from the Land and Water Conservation Fund) and the operational plans of the Forest Service staff, and influenced by the local peoples' reactions to such acquisition.[19]

Of the 312 tracts, 51, totaling about 7,100 acres, were taken for the NRA through condemnation. Of these 51 tracts, 20 had full-time residents, 15 of whom did not want to sell at all. (Five agreed to sell, but wanted more money than the Forest Service offered.) The majority of the condemnation cases were filed between 1972 and 1975, in preparation for specific development projects. Most tracts were in western Grayson County, in the area of Pine Mountain, where a ski resort was planned under special use permit, and Fairwood Valley, where resort accommodations and camping facilities were planned.

The Forest Service acquired the Pine Mountain lands to keep the area free from extraneous commercial development and thus maintain a natural camp setting. Resort to condemnation was minimized by Public Law 91-646 (1970) which liberalized relocation assistance benefits to displaced landowners who were living on their properties. However, some still resisted.[20] Many residents of the Mount Rogers area were angry and puzzled by the rationale for the taking of land. A newsletter of a local protest group declared:

> Nowhere has the Forest Service lost more credibility and generated more ill will than in its land condemnation and acquisition practices. Everyone in the affected area has either lost land or had friends or relatives who did. These are people who ancestral homes are here, whose parents, grandparents, great- and great-great-grandparents have lived here, and until recently were coerced into selling their land at a fraction of its worth.
>
> The Forest Service has been condeming land for years, making sweeps through the area taking thousands of acres at a time while assuring residents "that's all the land we're going to buy." A few months later they sweep through again enlarging their borders.[21]

As a result of their disgruntlement, local citizens organized to combat the tentative Forest Service development plans. The Citizens for Southwest Virginia, which formed shortly after the Forest Service issued the Draft Environmental Impact Statement for the NRA in spring 1978, was composed of citizens from the five-county area affected. They formed a Board of Directors of prominent citizens whose families had been in the area for generations. The organization claimed in 1978 that almost 10 percent of the five-county population had signed their petition of protest against further NRA development.[22]

Largely as a result of local citizen protest, supplemented by that of environmental groups nationwide, the Forest Service modified some of its initial development plans for Mount Rogers. The proposals for a scenic highway and for a ski resort were dropped completely. Projections that reservoirs would be constructed, that an excursion rail line would be built, that local investment capital would supplement Federal development proved too optimistic. The regional reservoirs and rail line were never built; the Mount Rogers Citizens Development Corporation, created to raise capital for local development use, failed to achieve its funding-raising goals. Regional economic conditions, however, began to improve without such massive development efforts.

The popular mandate, the Forest Service concluded, was clearly for dispersed recreation at Mount Rogers, with emphasis on hiking, camping, canoeing, and the like.[23]

In 1981 some members of the Citizens for Southwest Virginia were still active. Although in general they were satisfied with the modified development plans for the NRA, they were skeptical about a Forest Service "access road" being built between Troutdale and Damascus on the path of the supposedly defunct Scenic Highway. Citizens were still uneasy about Forest Service acquisition techniques, convinced that local landholders were sometimes intimidated through harassment and a lack of knowledge of their rights.[24] By 1981, the Citizens for Southwest Virginia had joined the National Inholders Association, a California-based organization created in early 1979 to change Federal land acquisition policies nationwide.[25]

The Big South Fork NRA

Another National Recreation Area in the Southern Appalachians that was still in the preliminary development stage in early 1981 was the Big South Fork National River and Recreation Area in McCreary County, Ky., and Scott County, Tenn. The Big South Fork basin of the Cumberland River, although rich in coal deposits, had not been extensively mined or developed, because of the high sulfur content of the coal as well as the physical limitations imposed by the narrow shoreline, high cliffs, and generally rugged terrain of the river basin. The area was largely uninhabited, most of its acreage owned by the big Stearns Coal and Lumber Co., which had bought the land around 1900.[26]

Since the end of World War II, the Corps of Engineers had tried unsuccessfully to win Congressional approval of an almost 500-foot dam on the Big South Fork near Devil's Jump for hydroelectric power and flood control. The dam was generally supported by local legislators and was strongly sponsored by the Kentucky Senator, John Sherman Cooper; it was opposed by private power companies: the Kentucky Utilities Co., the Cincinnati Gas and Electric Co., as well as the Associated Industries of Kentucky.

In 1967 Howard Baker was elected Senator from Tennessee. During the 1950's and early 1960's, Baker had represented the Stearns Coal and Lumber Co. in litigation and in efforts to persuade the Forest Service to allow strip mining under Stearns' reserved mineral rights. Between 1962 and 1966, he served on Stearns' Board of Directors.[27] Shortly after his election to the Senate in 1967, the fate of the Big South Fork was decided. Baker called various government officials together to determine the best development strategy for the area; the plan to develop an NRA was an administrative and legislative compromise.[28]

Authorized under the Water Resources Act of March 7, 1974, the NRA was to encompass approximately 123,000 acres. Of these, 3,000 belonged to the State of Tennessee, 1,000 to the Corps of Engineers, and about 16,000 lay in the Daniel Boone National Forest. All public lands were to be transferred to the National Park Service—the designated managing Federal agency—when sufficient private land had been acquired.[29] The Federal land acquisition agency, as well as planner, designer, and construction agent of the NRA, was the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers.

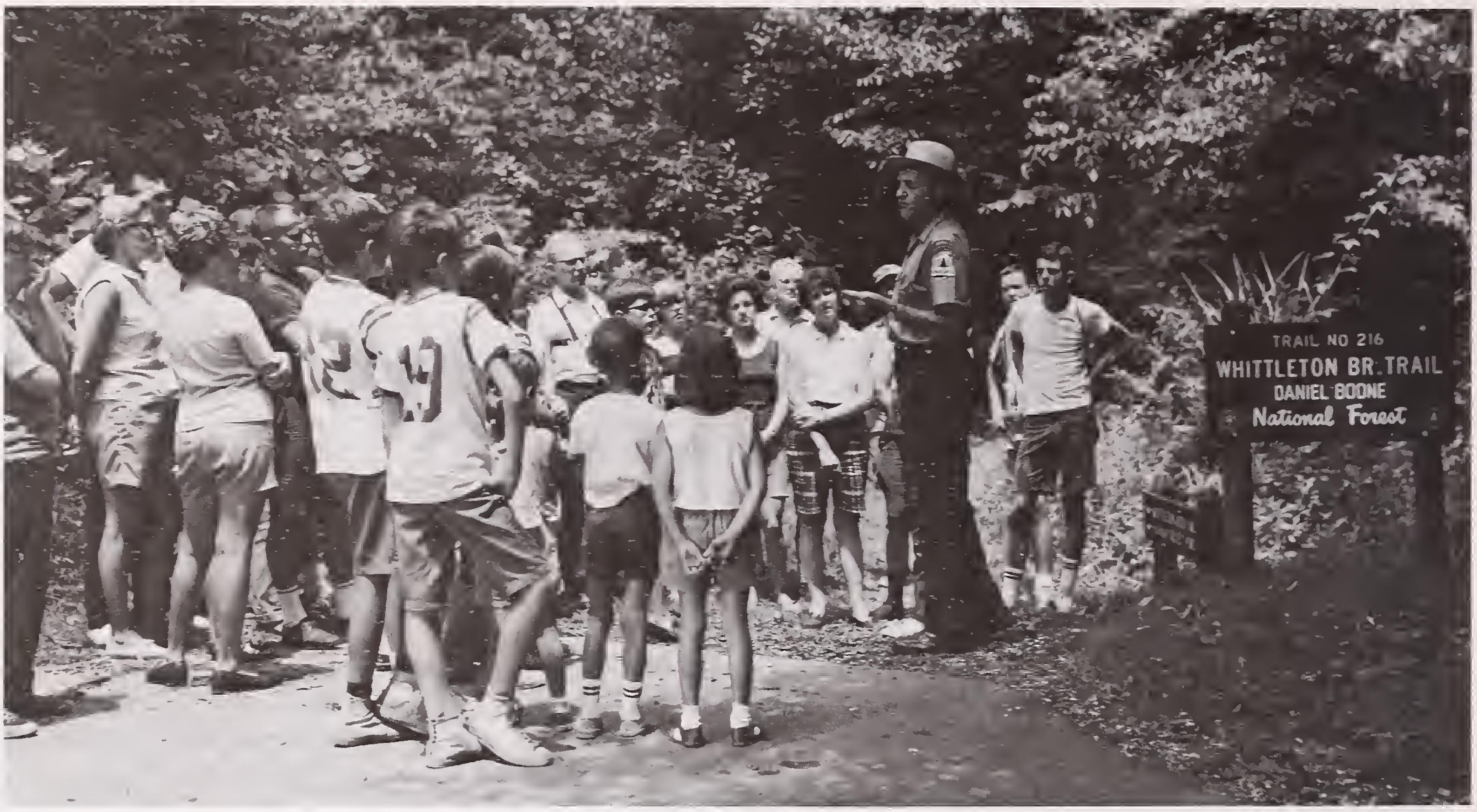


Figure 112.—Visitors listening to forest interpreter on a guided trail walk in Daniel Boone National Forest, Ky., in July 1966. (Forest Service photo F-514898)

The Corps' land acquisition program began in August 1979, when Stearns Coal and Lumber Co. sold 43,000 acres of surface rights, and 53,000 acres of mineral rights, in the Big South Fork area, for $16.5 million. (Although the authorizing legislation did not require that subsurface rights be acquired for the NRA, it did prohibit prospecting and mining. Thus, the Corps of Engineers felt obligated to acquire mineral rights as well as land.) During 1980 several smaller tracts were acquired, including those of over half the 38 families living in the area. By March 1981 about half the privately owned land remained to be acquired, but the timetable for that acquisition was uncertain, depending as it did upon congressional appropriation.[30]

Local reaction to the development of the National Recreation Area was mixed. Although at first McCreary County citizens, having long supported the Corps dam, were generally opposed to the NRA, by 1978 many were beginning to regard the development favorably. There was some feeling that the area might prove a major tourist attraction, even to the point of tacky overdevelopment, characteristic of Gatlinburg.[31] However, in spite of the promises of local economic boom assured by NRA promoters, the former Forest Service employee of McCreary County, L. E. Perry, was scornful:

> Some local leaders have been brainwashed to the point they believe the National Recreation Area . . . is holy salvation, placidly accepting the fact that not one major highway leading from Interstate 75 to anywhere near the Big South Fork is in the foreseeable future, which is further proof that the people of the region have been had.[32]

The Wild and Scenic Rivers Act and the National Trails Systems Act, which also guided recreational development in the Southern Appalachians, were passed in 1968. The former established a system of rivers judged to possess "outstandingly remarkable scenic, recreation, geologic, fish and wildlife, historic, cultural, or other similar values" to be preserved in a free-flowing state.[33] Rivers of the system were classified as "wild," "scenic," or "recreational," depending on the degree of access, development, or impoundment they possessed; each class was to be managed according to a different set of guidelines. The Act designated 8 rivers, all west of the Mississippi, as the first components of the system, and named 27 others to be considered for wild and scenic designation. By 1980, only two Southern Appalachian rivers had been designated part of the Wild and Scenic Rivers System—the Chattooga River, forming the border between northeastern Georgia and northwestern South Carolna, and a portion of the New River near the western North Carolina-Virginia border.[34]

The Scenic New River Controversy

A 26.5-mile segment of the New River in Ashe and Alleghany Counties, N.C., was designated a "scenic river" in March 1976 by the Secretary of the Interior.[35] This designation was a deliberate obstruction to a development proposed in 1965 by the Appalachian Power Co. called the Blue Ridge Project, designed to provide peak-demand power to seven States in the Ohio River Valley. The project would have created two reservoirs—one in Grayson County, Va., the other in Ashe and Alleghany Counties, N.C.—totalling over 37,000 surface acres. The reservoirs would have dislocated nearly 1,200 people and over 400 buildings. Nevertheless, the project promoters promised the local population construction jobs and revenues from reservoir recreational visitation.[36]

Citizens of the North Carolina counties affected by the Blue Ridge Project organized a protest against it. A National Committee for the New River, based in Winston-Salem, N.C., mounted a well-financed publicity campaign with letters, brochures, and reports.[37] By 1973, the commissioners of Ashe and Alleghany Counties, and the two candidates for governor of North Carolina, denounced the Blue Ridge Project and endorsed the preservation of the river.[38] In 1974, the North Carolina legislature designated 4.5 miles of the New River a State Scenic River. Public pressure was applied at the Federal level through the Federal Court of the District of Columbia, which was responsible for the Federal Power Commission license, through the Congress, and through the Department of Interior. Although the FPC license was upheld in March 1976, the Secretary of the Interior designated the 26.5-mile portionn of the New River as part of the national Wild and Scenic River System 3 weeks later, in effect revoking the FPC license.[39]

The Final Environmental Statement prepared by the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation, although conceding that the scenic river designation resulted in the projected loss of some 1,500 temporary construction jobs, and a certain loss in projected increased land values adjacent to the reservoirs, emphasized the benefits of the scenic designation. These were principally intangible—the preservation of a unique, free-flowing river, the preservation of wildlife and of archeological and geological assets, and the preservation of a way of life in an Appalachian river valley. The direct recreational benefits from the scenic designation to the local communities were estimated to be low. The activity areas to be established along the river were expected to accommodate annually 50,000 canoeists, hikers, and picnickers. Private entrepreneurs were anticipated to have little opportunity for riverside development, due to the existence of easements and floodway zoning.[40]

Incorporation of the New River segment into the Wild and Scenic River System provoked little local protest. In general, the scenic designation brought only minor changes to life along the river. Nearly 5 years after the designation of the New River segment, the County Manager of Ashe County summed up its impact as "very little."[41] The State of North Carolina, which has managed the 26.5-mile, 1,900 acre river segment, established a State park along a portion of its banks; a few canoe rental firms and river outfitters receive seasonal revenues from recreationists. Overall, however, inclusion of the New River in the Wild and Scenic Rivers System has had only a small local impact.

The Wild Chattooga River

The designation of the Chattooga River had larger repercussions. Public reaction was more outspoken, largely because most of the nearly 57-mile segment of the river, which included over 16,400 acres of adjacent land, was designated "wild" and was therefore slated for more restrictive management, and because the Forest Service sought to acquire lands along the river to establish a protected corridor.

The Chattooga River portion of the Wild and Scenic Rivers System was so designated by legislation of May 10, 1974.[42] The designated river segment lay within the Nantahala National Forest and on the border between the Chattahoochee and Sumter National Forests. A corridor up to 1 mile wide was outlined for acquisition along the designated river. In 1974, 47 tracts consisting of nearly 6,200 acres had to be acquired for the river corridor.[43] By early 1981, 85 percent of the desired corridor acreage had been acquired, mostly through exchange, and all from willing sellers.

In general, acquisition along the Chattooga River proceeded smoothly; land management of the area, however, met with considerable local protest. Because some 40 miles of the 57-mile corridor were designated "wild," river access was deliberately restricted in keeping with the guidelines established by BOR. These guidelines stipulated that administration of a wild river required restricted motorized travel, removal of homes, relocation of campgrounds, and the prohibition of structural improvements.[44] Consequently, upon land acquisition, the Forest Service closed several of the jeep trails that had provided river access. Not all the river jeep trails were closed, just those the Forest Service judged were allowing excessive and inappropriate use of the Chattooga that was not in keeping with its wild and scenic designation.[45]

The rationale for restricting access, however, was not strongly supported or well understood by the local population. As an Atlanta newspaper reported:

> When the Forest Service attempted to keep the jeeps away from the protected Chattooga River, the mountain dwellers torched vast tracts of National Forest land; if they couldn't use the land as they wished, they wanted no one else to use it at all.[46]

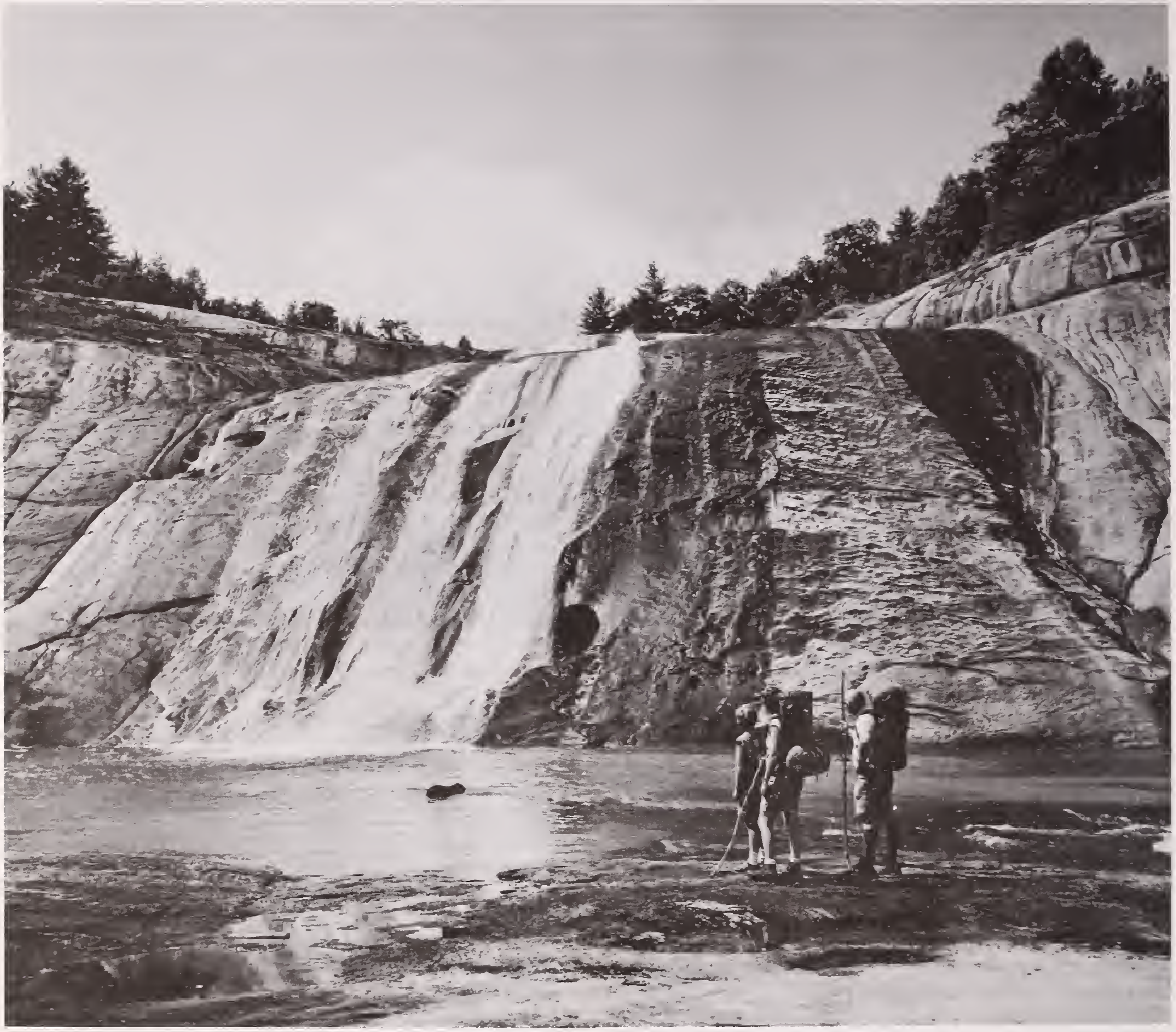


Figure 113.—Family hiking party at spectacular falls over a bald on upper Toxaway River near Toxaway Lake, Transylvania County, N.C., Nantahala-Pisgah National Forests. Spot is southwest of "Cradle of Forestry" and Brevard, N.C., near the South Carolina State line, about 15 miles from the upper Chattooga River; July 1964. (Forest Service photo F-511344)

Over the years, as the Chattooga River became increasingly popular with urban recreationists for white-water canoeing, rafting, and camping, local resentment mounted. In 1980, nearly 130,000 visitor-days were spent in watercraft recreation along the 57-mile river segment; 70,000 were spent in swimming, and 60,000 in hiking. Altogether, the Chattooga Wild and Scenic River received nearly a half-million visitor-days of use in 1980.[47] With a high frequency of visitors, it appeared to some local people that the Forest Service was catering to outsiders who came to the Chattooga to canoe, raft, and camp. Those who lived in the area often resented the restriction on using four-wheel drive vehicles. As one Clayton, Ga., resident wrote to the Forest Service in 1978:

> Special interest & minority groups, plus *environmentalists* got the Government to close off the Chattooga River, in Rabun County. Look at the river now & it is more filthy and more trashy, from no one but people who ride the river, & *if any, very few local people ride the river.* Local people of Rabun County don't destroy beauty, it's our home. [*sic*][48]

The Appalachian Trail

Another piece of post-ORRRC recreational legislation was for the full development and protection of the Appalachian Trail. The Trail, running for over 2,000 miles from Georgia to Maine, mostly along the high ridges of the Appalachians, was actually originally cleared and built between 1925 and 1937 by the Appalachian Trail Conference, a group of Trail enthusiasts composed of outdoorsmen, parks and planning staff, foresters, and governmental officials, in cooperation with State and Federal agencies. Most of the Trail was constructed by volunteers, on private lands, whose owners gave permission. Nearly a third of the Trail was built by the Forest Service and National Park Service on their lands. Both agencies have helped promote and maintain the Trail.[49] In the Southern Appalachian forests, 441.4 miles out of a total 592, or 75 percent, were "protected" before 1969 with an acquired right-of-way or scenic easement.[50]

The same was not true, however, of those portions of the Trail not under Forest Service or Park Service jurisdiction. Over the years, as the Appalachian Trail received increasing public use, concern for the Trail's protection and uniform management mounted, resulting in the National Trails System Act of October 2, 1968.[51] The Act established a national system of recreation and scenic trails, with the Pacific Coast Trail and Appalachian Trail as the major components of the system. The former was to be administered by the Secretary of Agriculture, the latter by the Secretary of the Interior, although specific stretches of either trail were to be managed directly by the agency whose land the trail traversed.

Specifically, the National Trails System Act charged the Secretary of the Interior with establishing the right-of-way for the Appalachian Trail, provided that, "insofar as practicable," it coincided with the right-of-way already established.[52] The required dimensions of the right-of-way were not specified in the 1968 Act; thus, the adequacy of Trail protection at a given location was open to interpretation. Right-of-way purchases could include entire tracts, strips of tracts, or even easements, so long as the adjacent land uses were compatible with the Trail's scenic qualities.

The authority to condemn lands of an unwilling seller for the Trail right-of-way was clearly provided in Section 7(g) of the Act but was to be utilized "only in cases where . . . all reasonable efforts to acquire such lands or interests therein by negotiation have failed."[53] Further, a limitation was placed on the amount of land that could be taken—no more than 25 acres per mile of Trail. Most condemnation cases simply involved clearing title to the land. An example of a tract that in 1980 appeared likely for such condemnation was the Blankenship tract along the Tennessee-North Carolina border, owned by more than 50 heirs. Condemnation would clear title, but all 50 owners had to be contacted before the suit could begin, and the proceedings were obviously complicated.[54]

Until 1978, unprotected stretches of the Appalachian Trail were acquired by the various jurisdictions with acquisition authority, but generally—except for the Forest Service—at a desultory pace. The slowness was due largely to the multiplicity of agencies and States responsible for right-of-way acquisition and management. This was compounded by the fact that the two principal Federal agencies—the Park Service and Forest Service—were unable to develop a uniform approach to Trail policy, which, in part, was due to differing interpretations of the 1968 Act.[55] The Park Service maintained that a mile-wide strip on either side of the Trail, that was free of parallel roads, which had been established in a 1938 Forest Service-Park Service agreement, was the appropriate right-of-way. The Forest Service stressed that the Trail right-of-way could not exceed 25 acres per mile.[56]

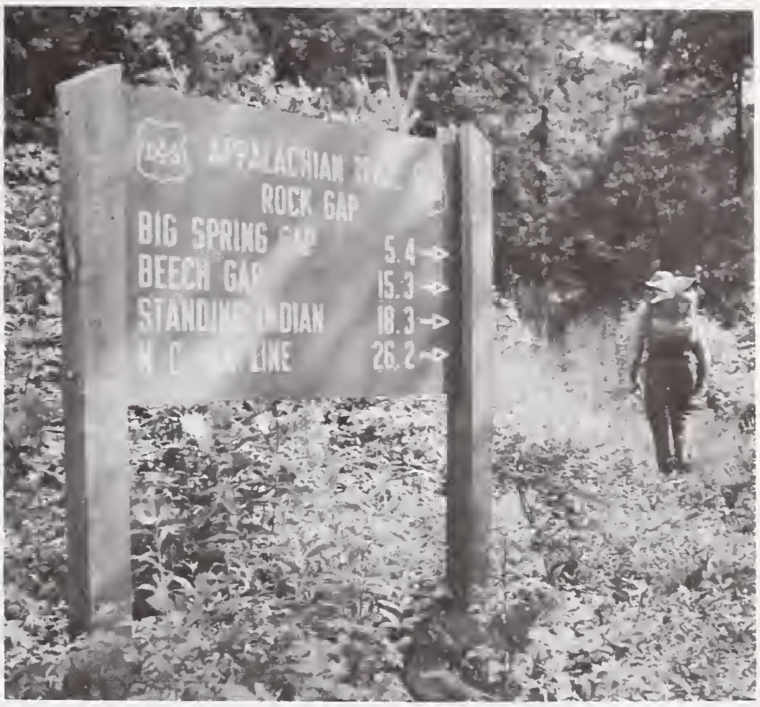


Figure 114.—Hiker passing new Forest Service sign on Appalachian Trail at Rock Gap, Nantahala Mountains, in Standing Indian Wildlife Management Area of Nantahala National Forest southwest of Franklin, N.C., near Georgia State line, which is much closer as the crow flies than sign indicates. Photo was taken in July 1960. (Forest Service photo F-494684)

In addition, the two agencies disagreed over the funding and timing of Trail purchases. The National Trails System Act established a $5-million fund for Trail purchases that the Forest Service felt it could draw upon. The Park Service considered this fund to be for State purchases only. Further, the Park Service imposed acquisition deadlines on the Forest Service that were impossible to meet, given the time-consuming nature of surveys, title searches, and buyer-seller negotiations. Several deadlines were established and subsequently extended.[57] Nevertheless, between 1969 and mid-1977, 110 miles of the Appalachian Trail in the National Forests of the Southern Appalachians were acquired. Of the 61 tracts involved in this acquisition, 4 were obtained through condemnation: one in the Nantahala, 2 in the Pisgah, and one in the Cherokee.[58] By mid-1981, only 14.3 miles (2.1 percent) of the 677.0 miles for which the Forest Service has responsibility in the mountains of four States were unprotected. Of the 263.5 miles delegated to the National Park Service, 42.8 miles (16.2 percent) were still unprotected.[59] A summary of the status of Appalachian Trail protection in the Southern Appalachians in October 1981 is shown in table 20.

Amendments to the National Trails System Act passed in 1978 substantially improved the administration of the Trail acquisition process and clarified most of the management problems.[60] Substantial additional funds were provided for acquisition, and condemnation authority was extended to allow acquisition from unwilling sellers of up to 125 acres per mile of Trail. In addition, the amendments stipulated that the acquisition program was to be "substantially complete" by the end of fiscal year 1981 (September 30).[61]

Under the 1978 amendments, the acquisition process proceeded with available funding.[62] By January 1981, all but 14 miles of Trail strips in the Southern Appalachian National Forests had either been acquired or were in the final stages of acquisition. Most of the remaining private tracts involved appeared to be obtainable only through condemnation. Some were held by implacable owners who simply refused to sell. John Lukacs, as resident of Florida, was one. Lukacs owned about 1,500 acres in the Cherokee National Forest, near Johnson City, Tenn., which he planned to develop someday. The Appalachian Trail cut diagonally across one small corner of his property. The Forest Service wanted to purchase a strip of land along the Trail as well as the 11.6-acre "uneconomic remnant"—the corner cut off by the Trail. Lukacs refused to sell, citing as his reason a spring in the corner remnant. In 1978 the Forest Service referred the case to the Department of Justice for prosecution.[63] Late in 1981 Justice agreed to press ahead with the suit.

Another long-resistant owner was the Duke Power Co., which had several large tracts along both sides of the Trail on the Tennessee-North Carolina State line in the Cherokee and Nantahala National Forests. Duke Power finally exchanged its Nantahala tract for equivalently valued National Forest acreage. Although the Forest Service needed only a narrow strip nearly 5 miles long, Duke insisted on selling the whole Cherokee tract intact, about 1,705 acres. The Forest Service made an offer which was refused by Duke, but after another potential buyer dropped out, further negotiations produced agreement on the sale price for the whole tract and the Forest Service set aside funds for it. Completion of the purchase was expected by early 1982. This would reduce the agency's remaining Trail strip to be acquired to less than 10 miles out of its total Trail responsibility of 677 miles in the four affected States, less than 1.5 percent.[64]

Kentucky Red River Gorge

Aside from Mount Rogers and the Appalachian Trail, the only other location in the Southern Appalachians where the Forest Service has taken lands from unwilling owners by condemnation for recreational purposes was the Red River Gorge of the Daniel Boone National Forest. Named a geological area in 1974, the Gorge covers 25,663 acres along the north and middle forks of the Red River, in Powell, Menifee, and Wolfe counties, Ky. Once part of an ancient sea and the product of centuries of weathering and erosion, the area is unusually scenic, with natural arches, caves, bridges, and rocky outcrops along the cliffs of the gorge. It has been managed as a special forest unit, both for recreation and to protect and preserve a unique environment. Lumbering is prohibited in the Gorge.[65]

Condemnation in the Red River Gorge has been used to acquire summer-house lots held by absentee owners along Tunnel Ridge Road, a high-use portion of the area. Altogether five tracts involving 45 acres have been condemned, although several owners have sold under threat of condemnation.[66] In 1973, when the Forest Service's draft plan for the Red River

Table 20.—Protection status of the Appalachian National Scenic Trail in the Southern Appalachians, October 1981

Location of trail	USDA Forest Service		National Park Service, USDI		State-owned land	
	Protected	Still to be protected	Protected	Still to be protected	Protected	Still to be protected
	miles		*miles*		*miles*	
Virginia	303.7	4.4	152.0	42.8	18.6	6.0
Tennessee-North Carolina	208.9	9.9	68.7	none	none	none
Georgia	78.1	none	none	none	none	none
Total	662.7	14.3	220.7	42.8	18.6	6.0

Source: Land Acquisition Field Office, Appalachian National Scenic Trail, U.S. Department of the Interior, Martinsburg, W. Va. Tennessee and North Carolina mileage is combined because much of the trail follows the State line. Virginia data includes stretches not included in the study area of this publication.

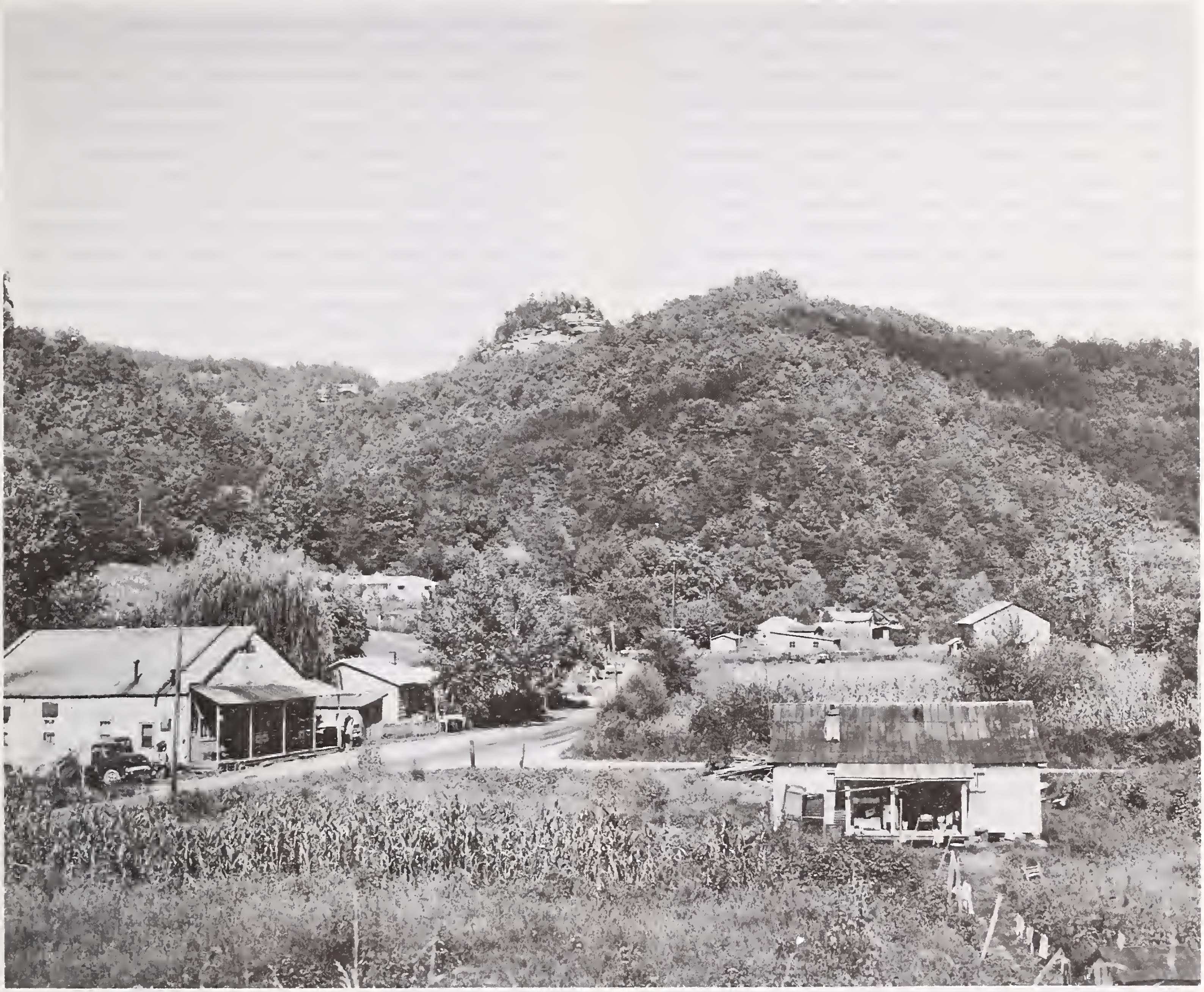


Figure 115.—The static mountain community of Nada, Powell County, Ky., on old State route 77 which tunnels through the mountain close by and forms part of the Red River Gorge Loop Drive on the Daniel Boone National Forest. The modern Mountain Parkway also now passes near the town, and the Frenchburg Civilian Conservation Center, established 3 years before the photo was taken in September 1968, is just a short distance away. A scene still common today throughout the Southern Appalachians. (Forest Service photo F-519027)

Gorge was developed, the Red River Area Citizens Committee protested the use of condemnation. Since 1973, some Red River inholders, having observed its use in spite of their opposition, began to protest *any* additional Federal land acquisition. The Gateway Area Development District, for example, passed a resolution in April 1979 opposing "further acquisition of land within the . . . area."[67]

The opposition appears to have been inflamed by the RARE II proposals to designate nearly one-half of the Red River Gorge (Clifty area) as wilderness (to be discussed later); however, the concern developed out of general experience with Forest Service acquisition policies and procedures. As in the cases of Mount Rogers, Chattooga River, and the Appalachian Trail, legislative development and Forest Service management plans appeared to threaten, with little warning, the pattern of local landownership. In the Red River Gorge area many people believed that, although the Forest Service usually aired its land-management alternatives in public, it often did not adequately inform them of final land-use decisions. Because people sometimes felt uncertain of their options, the threat of Federal acquisition was not entirely removed.[68] As long as the Federal Government was a neighbor, the mountaineer felt he could never be certain that his land would remain his own.

Private Recreation Business Is a Major Force

One conclusion of the ORRRC report was that the "most important single force in outdoor recreation is private endeavor—individual initiative, voluntary groups . . . , and commercial enterprises."[69] Indeed, the heightened Federal attention to outdoor recreational resources and and Federal legislation passed following the report apparently triggered a substantial private recreational development, particularly in the Southern Apalachians. The natural beauty of the region and its proximity to the population centers of the East were recognized as assets that had not been fully exploited. National corporations opened new resorts in the mountains; vacation home communities spread in clusters outside the National Forests; the number of retail establishments catering to tourists increased, and speculators bought numerous tracts of mountain land, throughout the region, hoping to turn a profit by subdividing. The impact of these actions was considerable, not only on the local population but also on the managers of Federal land.

In its first years, the Appalachian Regional Commission funded a series of studies to ascertain the potential role of the recreation industry in the region's economic development. The benefits of tourism to the local population had long been acclaimed by recreational developers seeking to gain support for their programs. Promoters of the Blue Ridge Parkway and the Great Smoky Mountains National Park had both predicted a regional tourist boom.[70] Nevertheless, although recreational visitation and tourism in the Southern Appalachians increased dramatically over the years, by 1960 no such boom had developed.

The first ARC study in 1966 concluded that the economic impact of recreational development on local areas is "marginal" and should be justified principally because it gives open-space recreation to people living in metropolitan areas. It cautioned that recreational employment is seasonal, low-paying, and undemanding, and that the indirect benefits of tourism are small. Thus, the 1966 ARC report pointedly advised, "major public investment in non-metropolitan recreation resources would rarely be justified solely or even primarily, for the sake of the economic impact on the local area."[71] So the recreation industry, like the timber industry, was not the solution to Appalachia's economic ills. Nevertheless, seemingly ignoring the prudent findings of its first study, and favoring the rosy BOR report of 1967, ARC continued to encourage heavy recreational development.[72] In 1967 the Commission began an inventory and analysis of selected multicounty sites, 23 of which were labeled of greatest potential. Twelve such sites were in the Southern Appalachians, and seven of these, all relatively undeveloped, were selected for further analysis.[73] All seven were near, or enclosed, National Forests, National Parks, or TVA reservoirs. Thus, the large Federal landownership in the region was recognized as a major recreational asset. Private investment, it was felt, could "piggy-back" on the existing recreational attraction of public sites.

For example, the Upper Hiwassee River Interstate complex, a seven-county highland area of northern Georgia, southeastern Tennessee, and southwestern North Carolina, just south of Great Smoky Mountains National Park, was credited with enormous potential because of the Chattahoochee, Cherokee, and Nantahala National Forests and four TVA reservoir lakes. However, the area lacked road access, accommodations, and camping spaces. Although it was implied that Federal or State funds would be required for roads and other public services, ARC said private developers could profitably build hotels, motels, and second homes.[74] Similarly, the Boone-Linville-Roan Mountain complex in the Pisgah National Forest section of North Carolina, just east of the park, was seen to exhibit "great potential" for attracting vacationers, especially skiers.[75] Overall, the ARC study concluded, if the 14 recreation sites were fully developed, by 1985 there would be a $1.7-billion "total economic impact." Even in the smallest counties where a lower level of expenditure could be assumed, "a sizable amount of private business development and/or expansion could be expected, and services would probably be considerably expanded."[76]

In 1960, private recreational development was not spread evenly over the Southern Appalachians; rather, it was concentrated in distinct county clusters. The principal clusters were near Great Smoky Mountains National Park—Sevier and Swain; in the Nantahala National Forest—Graham, Jackson, and Macon; the northern Georgia counties in the Chattahoochee National Forest—Towns, Union, Fannin, and principally, Rabun; and Watauga and Avery counties, in the upper Pisgah National Forest, near Boone, N.C., and the Blue Ridge Parkway. Clearly, the National Forests, parkway, and National Park of the region were integral to the development of the private tourist-recreation industry.[77]

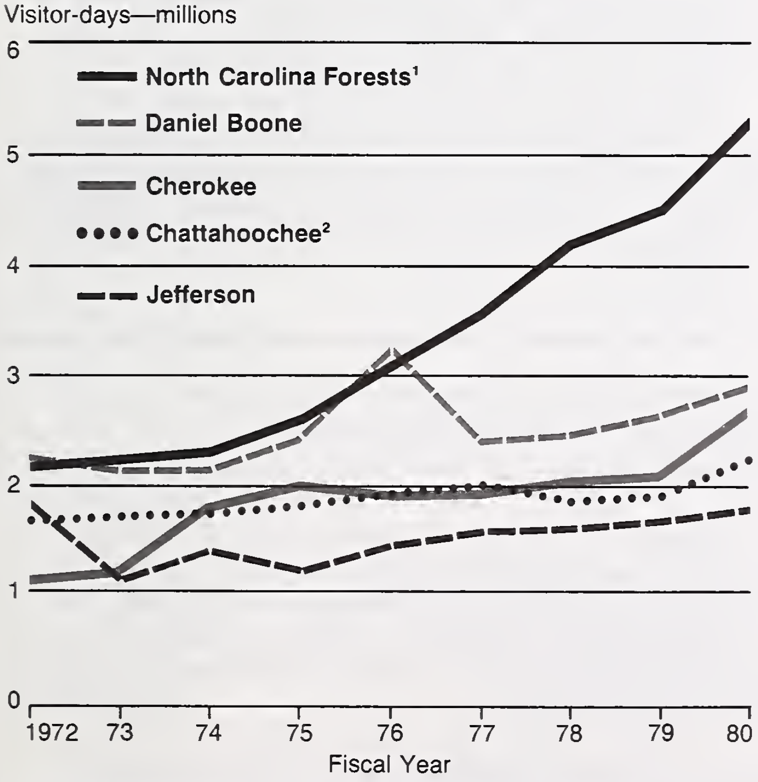
Nevertheless, physical recreational resources alone do not explain the locational pattern of the recreation industry. Hancock County, Tenn., for example, one of the 12 study counties we chose for more detailed analysis, located north of Knoxville near Cumberland Gap, had "a mountain environment, clean air and streams, an uncommercialized and unspoiled countryside, and a unique county culture group . . . . Tourists, however, have not visited the county in large numbers."[78] Major factors in recreational development were relative ease of access and a resort history. That is, the counties with the greatest recreational growth in this period were those that had a history of tourism and that seemed unable to attract other economic activities, because of their remoteness.[79] Southern Appalachian counties with the most lodgings and tourist-related jobs were relatively inaccessible, lacked a diverse economic base, but had been frequented for many years by vacationers.

The Federal lands that provided the regional recreation base attracted vacationers throughout the 1960's and 1970's, most of them at an increasing rate. Statistics for the fiscal years 1972-80 reveal the general trend, as shown in figure 116.[80] The Chattahoochee and Jefferson National Forests did not show substantial visitor growth over the 8-year period, and the Cherokee did so only in 1980, when visitation increased 150 percent over 1979. In the four North Carolina forests, it increased steadily by 240 percent over the period. In the Daniel Boone, including the Redbird unit, the peak was reached in 1976. Notably, compared to all National Forests in the United States, the Daniel Boone and North Carolina forests rose dramatically as ranked by number of recreation "visitor-days" reported. By 1980, the Daniel Boone ranked 26th out of 122 National Forest units; the North Carolina forests jointly ranked eighth.[81]

Private Development Varies Greatly

The extent of private recreational development that occurred during the 1960's and 1970's varied considerably from county to county across the Southern Appalachian region. Some became the focus for heavy second-home development; others grew in commercial facilities; others, although remaining relatively important as recreational concentrations, developed very little. One area that achieved wide publicity for its heavy, uncontrolled commercial development is Gatlinburg, Sevier County, Tenn.—western entrance to Great Smoky Mountains National Park.[82]

Figure 116.—Volume of Recreational Visitation in Southern Appalachian National Forests, 1972–80.



[1]Includes the small Croatan and Uwharrie National Forests of the Piedmont and coast.
[2]Includes the small Oconee National Forest of the Piedmont.

Source: "Relative Standings of the National Forests According to Amount of Visitor–days of Use," Recreation Management Staff, Forest Service, Washington, D.C. A visitor-day is any aggregate of 12 person-hours, ranging from one person for 12 hours to 12 persons for one hour each.

During the 1980's changes in landownership began to occur suddenly in the Gatlinburg area where for years land had been closely held by a few families. After 1960 "outsiders with no apparent intention of establishing residency . . . increased their holdings."[83] Most of these "outsiders" were northern corporations, such as Rapoca Resources Coal Co. of Cincinnati, or national chains, such as Holiday Inn. A very high number of franchise or chain ownerships located there.[84]

Investments were made not only in resort attractions (resort hotels, restaurants, and shops), but in residential land as well. Individuals and corporations bought acreage all around Gatlinburg, so that by 1972 almost half the landowners were outsiders. Many of them bought land for summer or retirement homes but some, with no intention of settling, bought for pure speculation. Although in the mid-1970's sizable tracts outside Gatlinburg were still in the hands of local inhabitants, the slightly more distant tracts, upon which higher capital gains could be realized, were largely in the hands of outsiders.[85]

Although the town was unusual in the Southern Appalachians in that it had been an established resort area for several decades, its pattern of land development by outside investors was repeated throughout the region. Watauga and Avery Counties, N.C., were heavily developed in the 1960's, first by local entrepreneurs. For example, Hugh Morton transformed Grandfather Mountain into a recreational complex that included condominiums, a subdivision of Scottish manor houses called Invershiel, a lake, and the Grandfather Mountain Golf and Country Club, with a professional golf course.[86] His family had owned some 16,000 acres of mountain land since the end of the 19th century; when his father died, Morton inherited the mountain as a parcel of land no one else in the family wanted. Although a movement was started to purchase Grandfather Mountain for the National Park Service, Morton finally decided to develop the land. With the aid of professionals, he built one feature after another. By 1978, Grandfather Mountain boasted, in addition to traditional resort facilities, a bear habitat, a nature museum, and a mile-high swinging bridge.

Later, corporate developments, such as Sugar Mountain and Beech Mountain, owned by Carolina-Caribbean Corp. of Miami, followed. Some Winston-Salem businessmen and the L.A. Reynolds Construction Co. built Seven Devils nearby. All included golf courses, lakes, tennis courts, and ski slopes, as well as second homes spread in subdivision fashion across the hills.[87]

Northern Georgia has also attracted heavy recreational investment, particularly in vacation-home communities. As of 1974, approximately 210 second-home subdivisions were being "actively developed" in 12 counties, some as large as 5,000 to 9,000 acres.[88] On a smaller scale, the Highlands area of Macon County, N.C. became the site of many second homes whose owners had permanent residences in Atlanta, Savannah, Jacksonville, and other southern urban areas.[89] However, recreational subdivisions *per se* did not become a common feature of the southwestern North Carolina landscape. In the 11-county "Southern Highlands" region of North Carolina, including Buncombe, Henderson, Graham, Macon, and Swain Counties, there were only 12 second-home development firms that controlled 30 or more homes or sites each in 1973. Macon County, had the most, with four.[90]

The increase in second-home development throughout the Southern Appalachians was part of the general reversal of the heavy outmigration the region experienced in the two decades after World War II. As discussed in chapter VII, between 1970 and 1975 a distinct change in migration patterns occurred in all study counties; either net outmigration slowed dramatically or net inmigration took place. This shift appears to have applied across the whole region, and must be seen as part of a national change. In general, over the United States as a whole, after 1970, nonmetropolitan areas attracted increasing numbers of people while Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas lost population. In particular, nonmetropolitan places of a recreation or retirement character attracted heavy numbers of inmigrants. Although the Sunbelt States were the chief recipients of inmigrants, parts of the Southern Appalachians previously identified as areas of recreational development were also among the migration-destination targets.[91]

No Economic Boom Results

However, in spite of the isolated clusters of resorts, the localized proliferation of second homes, and the reversal in migration trends, recreational development in the Southern Appalachians in the 1960's and 1970's did not create an economic boom. Development was initiated largely by individual or corporate outside investors, and secondary growth was often limited. Ten years after the initial ARC recreational study of 1966, reports and statistics of actual results generally confirmed this study's conclusion that the net economic impact of recreational development on the Southern Appalachian region would be "marginal."

For example, over the 11-county area of southwestern North Carolina, almost no growth occurred in the local recreation industry between 1966 and 1972. Specifically, the North Carolina Outdoor Recreation Areas Inventory discovered an actual decline in the number of resorts offering camping and recreation/amusement facilities between 1966 and 1972. This decline was most extreme for commercial resorts, which dropped in number by 25 percent; whereas resorts on government land actually increased by 60 percent.[92]

Employment in recreation-related businesses over the 11-county area generally increased between 1960 and 1970; however, as a percentage of total employment, recreation business employment showed little gain. Only employment in construction and in hotels, lodging places, and amusement services increased, both absolutely and relatively. Employment in eating and drinking places, gas stations, and real estate experienced relative declines.[93] The only real recreation-related growth shown was in the actual number of firms servicing the recreation, tourist, and second-home market.[94] This growth, however, may more accurately reflect exogenous investment than it does local capital development.

Over the Southern Appalachian region as a whole, as represented by the 12 study counties, growth from recreational development can be partially gauged from the increase in the number of, and sales from, eating and drinking places. Table 21 shows these increases over the years for which data are available:

Table 21.— Eating and drinking places in 12 selected Southern Appalachian counties: number and percentage of total retail sales, 1972 data compared to 1954 and 1967

	High proportion of National Forest						Little or no National Forest					
	Union, Ga.	Graham, N.C.	Macon, N.C.	Unicoi, Tenn.,	McCreary, Ky.	Bland, Va.	Habersham, Ga.	Ashe, N.C.	Henderson, N.C.	Hancock, Tenn.	Knox, Ky.	Buchanan, Va.
Year	Number of eating and drinking places											
1954	6	4	11	14	5	2	16	5	44	NA	16	20
1972	12	8	27	19	8	5	23	14	49	2	27	28
	Percentage of total retail sales from eating and drinking places											
1967	2.0	10.0	3.4	4.0	1.3	2.4	3.8	2.2	4.4	D[1]	4.7	3.4
1972	3.7	11.3	5.4	5.4	2.6	4.5	2.3	2.4	4.1	D	4.6	4.7

[1] D = Disclosure laws prohibit publication for only one or two firms.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *County and City Data Book*, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1957, 1967, 1972).

Although the number of eating and drinking places increased in both the counties with a high proportion of National Forest land and those with little or none, the percentage increase was greater for the former group. For two-thirds of the former, the number of eating and drinking places at least doubled, an increase that suggests the rise in tourism those areas experienced. Similarly, that group of counties showed a gain in the relative importance of sales from eating and drinking places between 1967 and 1972; whereas, over the same period, the relative importance of such sales generally decreased in the latter group. This differential probably reflects the failure of the heavily national-forested counties to build as broad an economic base as those counties without much such land, as well as their increase in recreational development.[95]

Pace of Recreational Development Slows

Although the recreation industry of the heavily national-forested counties experienced a period of relative growth in the 1960's and 1970's, the extent of neighboring Federal landownership was no assurance of a successful recreation investment. The pace of development has slowed. For example, the privately owned Bear Paw Resort on Lake Hiwassee in the extreme southwestern corner of the Nantahala National Forest—one of the areas identified by ARC as showing substantial recreation development potential—suffered major financial losses during most of the 1970's.[96] The resort, a 99-acre complex with 40 rental cottages, built by TVA when the Hiwassee Dam was constructed, included tennis courts, a swimming pool, an ice-skating rink, marina, stables, and restaurants. In 1979 the North Carolina Department of Natural Resources and Community Development negotiated to buy the property for a State park. But, as one of the owners lamented, "the thing is a loser. There's no way for us to make money or even for the state to . . . The property isn't worth $200,000, so far as a going concern . . . " The purchase did not take place.[97]

Furthermore, whatever growth may have occurred in the recreation industry in selected counties during the 1960's and 1970's, the employment in the industry was repeatedly acknowledged to be small, sporadic and low-paying.[98] In 1975, in 12 mountain counties of North Carolina, where recreational development was a feature of the landscape, only 6.6 percent of the labor force worked in the recreation industry, and then only seasonally, for low wages.[99] As Lewis Green of Asheville has written, in spite of the promises developers make for the local economy:

> . . . all that one can see for the little man is maintenance and custodial jobs. Maids and waitresses. At the end of the season, the big money goes to Florida—to return here again to buy up some more old homeplaces.[100]

Even more significant, some feel, is the fact that such employment introduces "a job orientation no longer directly associated with the land." Although in itself such orientation may not be bad, it "serves to undermine the spirit of independence so long characteristic of the mountain people, and places them in a position of almost perpetual subordination to the outside-dominated financial manipulators."[101]

During the 1960's, commercial and individual private land acquisition began to alter the mountaineer's perception of his land. Land became "significant as property," and valued for financial investment.[102] On the whole, private investment in the Southern Appalachians during the 1960's and 1970's substantially inflated the price of land. In southwestern North Carolina, "hilly woodland that sold for $50 to $100 [per acre] in 1955 could have easily been sold ten years later for $450 and more."[103] Such inflation consequently raised property valuations, causing increased property taxes, and thus a higher property tax base. Whether such changes were ultimately beneficial or detrimental is open to some controversy. Edgar Bingham has described the circumstances that have led to the inflation of land values:

> Buyers from . . . large corporations . . . offer prices for land which unsuspecting natives find difficult to refuse. The prices offered are in truth inflated relative to the value of the land in its traditional subsistence or semi-subsistence farm use . . . . Many sell, assuming that they will buy other property within the general area, but they find that land values overall have gone up radically, so they either must give up their former way of life and become menials for the developer, or, as is often the case, they leave the community altogether. Even those who are determined to retain their land find that its value has become so inflated that it is no longer practical to use it for farming, so either they become developers themselves or they sell to the developer.[104]

This process has been clearly documented in Ashe, Avery, and Watauga Counties, N.C., where the number of out-of-State landowners and the amount of land they owned increased dramatically between 1960 and 1980.[105] A study by the North Carolina Public Interest Research Group found that outside speculators increased their landownership by 164 percent in Watauga County and 47 percent in Avery County between 1970 and 1975.[106] One result of such increase is that, as land values inflated, farmers found it more and more difficult to pay taxes. By the mid-1970's, approximately half the farmers in Watauga and Avery Counties worked at least 100 days per year off their farms to supplement their incomes. The long-range predicament is that, as farmland prices escalate, a farming career ceases to be viable.[107]

Net Benefits Are Questionable

Although second-home developments and investments in mountain land increased the property tax base of many Southern Appalachian counties, the cost of services also increased considerably. Due to a lack of substantive documentation, it is not certain whether revenues kept up with costs. The 1966 ARC study found that resorts and vacation homes generally strengthen the property tax base. Also, because the highest single item of public expenditure—education—is usually not increased as a result of recreational development, the study claimed that vacation homes and establishments do "yield a profit on the municipal balance sheet."[108]

However, a mid-1970's study of the Georgia, North Carolina, and South Carolina State agencies responsible for recreation suggested that the cost of providing services to second-home developments can be more than the increased taxes they generate, particularly if the developments are not adjacent to existing population concentrations.[109] Specifically, Avery and Watauga Counties, with very limited road-maintenance budgets, allowed ski roads in demand for tourist developments to be maintained, while farm roads suffered. Hospitals, fire departments, and police all were found understaffed and underfinanced to handle the temporary vacationing population.[110] Similarly, in Sevier County, Tenn., three resort developments studied by the State Planning Office in 1977 were found to have cost the county at least $23,000 more in services than they generated in tax revenues.[111]

In addition, many have claimed that resort and recreational home development in the Southern Appalachians has brought environmental degradation similar to that resulting from the exploitation of timber and coal resources decades earlier.[112] Problems of erosion, inadequate water supplies, and sewage treatment facilities have been cited.[113] Some of the degradation has been clearly visible, as the description of a Rabun County, Ga., development, named Screamer Mountain, testifies:

> Seen from a helicopter, it is as though an entire mountain had been assaulted by a road-building spider and left entangled and throttled in a network of gouges and tracks. Since this development is dense and the gradients are steep, much of the vegetation is gone; mud turning to liquid mud in the rain, is left behind. Since this development constitutes a mountain, it is visible from all sides. It is particularly worthwhile to imagine several such developments on the tops of approximately contiguous hills. These fortresses of deforestation, frowning upon each other across their several valleys, would then constitute their inhabitants' only views . . . . It is hard to see what amenity would remain.[114]

Such visual blight has occurred largely because most counties in the region have not had appropriate zoning or land use controls. In North Carolina, although most county governments have zoning ordinances, they are generally of poor quality, and are often set aside or lightly administered under economic pressures. In addition, development has often taken place in the unincorporated areas of a county, where land-use controls have been even more lax.[115]

Big Influx of Temporary Residents

Finally, recreational development has brought to the mountains a new group of temporary residents, most of whom have a value systaem and attitude toward the land that are alien to the mountaineer. Writing of the suburban newcomers, Bingham has explained:

> The effect on the human population [of recreational development] over recent years has been to replace the natives with "new" mountaineers. Mountaineers without a real attachment to the land and whose demands or expectations have tended to be in conflict with rather than in harmony with the mountain habitat. His automobiles, motorcycles, and the service vehicles meeting his more elaborate demands clog the mountain roads and disturb the rural quiet with the roar of their engines. His ski slopes have cut huge slashes in the natural cover of the most attractive mountains, and the most appealing trails and associated vistas suddenly become off-limits to the people who have always lived here.[116]

Perhaps the greatest misunderstanding between the old and new mountaineer is in the matter of trespass. The southern mountaineer has his own sense of landownership rights. Holding title to the land is but one type of possession; long residence in an area entitles one to certain rights as well—for example, free access for hunting, wood gathering, and berry picking. This attitude toward the land is based on historical precedent; in the past, each farmer had his own bottomland acreage but regarded the forested ridges as common ground.[117]

Thus, although over 4 million acres in the region were in Federal ownership, local residents still felt free to use much of that land in the traditional way. As George Hicks has written:

> Timber is recognized as private property and one must buy trees before cutting them. Scavenging for fallen tree limbs to use as firewood, however, falls into the same category as galax: it belongs to the gatherer. The same is true for wild fruits—huckleberries, blueberries, blackberries, and so on.[118]

Although permits were required for some activities—tree cutting, gathering evergreens, or hunting—the Forest Service at times overlooked violations. As Hicks wrote of local use of the North Carolina National Forests, "evergreen collectors take it as a game to evade the forest rangers and Federal officers, and they declare that the officials have a similar playful attitude."[119] A similar "game" has been observed between

local hunters and Forest Service personnel along the Appalachian Trail:

> "Foot Travel Only" trails . . . [are] being (hopefully, at least) protected by Forest Service signs designed to exclude two-wheeled and four-wheeled vehicles. During hunting season, it seems that the signs are taken down and hidden; and vehicles enter. Violators profess innocence . . . claiming they saw no signs excluding vehicles. To combat this, the Forest Service erects heavy wooden posts. The posts are cut down with chain saws, and vehicles obtain entrance. The Forest Service retaliates with more wooden posts, and this time drives one-inch thick steel rods diagonally through the posts and into the ground. And so the battle goes on . . . each side thinking of new ways to outwit the other.[120]

Figure 117.—Prominent wilderness leaders who accompanied Forest Service officials on a 4-day "show-me" trip through National Forests in the Southern Appalachian Mountains, were here looking over the new Shining Rock Wild Area, later called Wilderness, from the crest of Shining Rock on the Pisgah National Forest, N.C., in September 1962, 2 years before passage of the Wilderness Act. The spot is near the "Pink Beds," "Cradle of Forestry," and Blue Ridge Parkway, southwest of Asheville and not far from Great Smoky Mountains National Park. *Standing,* left to right, were: North Carolina National Forests Supervisor Peter J. Hanlon; Southern Regional Forester James K. Vessey; Harvey Broome, a lawyer and co-founder in 1934 of the Wilderness Society, a leader in the Great Smoky Mountains Hiking Club; William W. Huber, Southern Regional information chief; Pisgah District Ranger Ted S. Seeley; and Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas, a hiking and wilderness enthusiast. *Seated:* Ernest M. Dickerman, then director of field services, eastern region, Wilderness Society, later also Washington representative of Tennessee Citizens for Wilderness Planning, and (1982) vice-president of Conservation Council of Virginia; and Charles Rickerhauser. (Forest Service photo F-504012)

When the new group of vacation homeowners and resort developers came, they established the boundaries of their newly acquired property with fences and often "No Trespassing" or "No Hunting" signs.[121] This exclusion became a source of misunderstanding and antagonism. Why, the mountaineer reasoned, was he prohibited from woodgathering or hunting on lands his family had used for years? Incidences of arson were traced to such resentment. In Macon County in 1976, an outbreak of fires struck a sawmill, several patches of woods, and a tourist attraction called Gold Mountain. A man was later quoted as saying, "The posted signs burned right off early. They didn't last no time."[122]

Because the mountaineers, the newcomers, and the Forest Service staff live in close proximity throughout the mountains, a triangular relationship developed in which the Forest Service was often perceived by the mountaineers to be catering to the ways of the newcomers. There was a "conflict—real or perceived—between the expectations and desires of forest users distant from the forest scene and local economic aspirations."[123] The forest officers, following administrative directives from Washington, felt caught in the middle. In no case was this situation more dramatic than in the battles that were staged during the late 1970's over wilderness.

Wilderness Act Sparks Much Conflict

The Wilderness Act of September 3, 1964 gave Federal statutory recognition to wilderness designation through the establishment of a national system of wilderness areas.[124] The Act was the culmination of 8 or 9 years of intensive legislative debate and lengthy testimony. The first wilderness bill had been introduced by Senator Hubert Humphrey in 1956 following the opposition to and defeat of the proposed Echo Park Dam on the Green River in Dinosaur National Monument, northern Utah and Colorado. That preservation-versus-development controversy illustrated both the political power of militant conservationist groups and the substantial base of their popular support.[125]

Debate over the Wilderness Act focused on three issues: the amount of land to be included in the wilderness system; the addition of lands to the system; and the status of logging and mining in wilderness areas.[126] Most timber, mining, petroleum, agriculture, and grazing interests opposed the legislation; the Forest Service, although a pioneer in establishing wilderness areas, also was strongly against the bill at first, largely because its administrative and land-management prerogatives would be restricted. The statement in the Multiple Use-Sustained Yield Act of 1960 that "the establishment and maintenance of areas of wilderness are consistent with the purposes and provisions of . . . multiple use," anticipated to some extent the wilderness legislation to come.[127] Support for a separate wilderness act was strong, however, and the Forest Service ultimately acceded to the popular movement, lending its expertise to the long bill-drafting and modification process.

The Wilderness Act defined wilderness areas as places "where the earth and its community of life are untrammeled by man, where man himself is a visitor who does not remain." Wilderness areas were to be preserved in a roadless, forested, undeveloped condition. Specifically prohibited in the wilderness system were motor vehicles (land or water), motorized equipment, and the landing of aircraft, except where already established, as well as permanent buildings and lumbering. In general, hunting, fishing, and grazing (but not crop farming) were allowed. Where rights had been previously established, mining and prospecting could continue until January 1, 1984.

The wilderness system defined by the Act incorporated over 14 million acres of areas that were already being administered by the Forest Service as wilderness. In 1924 its Southwestern Region had established the Gila Wilderness Area in New Mexico. In 1929 the Forest Service had set aside large primitive areas in the West and upper Great Lakes region for protection under Regulation "L-20." In 1939 the "U" Regulations formally established a system of wilderness, wild, and primitive areas. (Later the Boundary Waters Canoe Area in Minnesota, much of which had been pledged by the Secretary of Agriculture in 1926 to remain roadless, was added as a distinct administrative entity.) Lumbering, roads, commercial establishments, motor boats, and resorts were all prohibited in the system. Except for size, Forest Service wilderness and wild areas were the same; wilderness areas were larger than 100,000 acres, wild areas were between 5,000 and 100,000 acres. Primitive areas were tracts set aside for further study, although they were administered as wilderness. Altogether, in 1964, the system encompassed over 14,600,000 acres.[128]

The Wilderness Act included the Forest Service's 54 previously designated wilderness and wild areas as the sole initial components of the national wilderness system. Its 34 primitive areas, which accounted for over a third of the 14,600,000-acre system, were to be reviewed over a 10-year period for possible inclusion. Each area could be added to the system only by an act of Congress; prior to congressional action, each area had to be the subject of a public hearing where testimony from Governmental officials and private citizens would be taken.

By 1973, only three areas in the East, formerly designated wild areas, had been included in the wilderness system: Great Gulf, in the White Mountain National Forest in New Hampshire, and Linville Gorge and Shining Rock, both in the Pisgah National Forest. In designating wilderness, the Forest Service had maintained a strict interpretation of its own guidelines.[129] In the East, where most lands had been occupied, logged, or burned, only a few select areas of more than 5,000 acres qualified for wilderness consideration. However, the 7,655-acre Linville Gorge and 13,400-acre Shining Rock tracts were not altogether free from the imprint of man; parts of both areas had been logged and burned about 1900.[130]

However, the national movement for wilderness was strong. Local conservationists expressed dissatisfaction with the exclusion by definition of all but a few eastern lands from the wilderness system.[131] Furthermore, the eastern areas that had been designated wilderness were experiencing a phenomenal increase in public visitation. Linville Gorge and Shining Rock had a recreational use of 5,300 and 5,200 visitor-days respectively in 1968; by 1974, the figures were 21,800 and 12,400 visitor-days.[132] Recognizing the pressure for designating more areas as eastern wilderness, the Forest Service in 1972 asked conservation organizations and natural resource associations for recommendations on ways to classify and preserve wilderness in the East, taking into consideration the special problems posed by the fragmented landownership pattern, the fact that most mineral rights were privately held, and the fact that most rivers and bodies of water within National Forests were not federally owned.[133]

Beginning in 1972, bills were introduced in Congress to establish a special wilderness system; the Eastern Wilderness Act of 1975 resulted.[134] The bill did not attempt to define wilderness as such, but catalogued the value of wilderness as, "solitude, physical and mental challenge, scientific study, inspiration and primitive recreation." Altogether, the Act designated 16 eastern National Forest areas totaling over 207,000 acres as the initial components of the system. Five of the areas were in the Southern Appalachians, as listed in table 22.

In addition, the Act named 17 study areas for consideration for inclusion in the wilderness system. They were to be administered as wilderness until a final determination on their status was made, which was to be no later than 1980. Three were in the Southern Appalachian forests: the 1,100-acre Craggy Mountain area in Pisgah National Forest, and Big Frog and Citico Creek in the Cherokee, totaling 18,500 acres.

Table 22.—New areas designated in Southern Appalachia by the Eastern Wilderness Act of 1975.

Wilderness	*National Forest*	*Acreage*
Beaver Creek	Daniel Boone (Ky.)	5,500
Joyce Kilmer-Slickrock	Nantahala, Cherokee (N.C.-Tenn.)	15,000
Ellicott Rock	Nantahala, Sumter, Chattahoochee (N.C., S.C., Ga.)	3,600
Gee Creek	Cherokee (Tenn.)	2,570
Cohutta	Chattahoochee, Cherokee (Ga., Tenn.)	34,500
	Total	61,170

Source: The Eastern Wilderness Act. See also Hendee, Stankey, and Lucas, Forest Service, USDA, *Wilderness Management*, (Washington: Government Printing Office, October 1978), pp. 116, 117, 121.

The Roadless Areas Reviews (RARE)

Before the Eastern Wilderness Act was passed, efforts had been underway to expand the national wilderness system. In 1971, the Forest Service initiated a review process called RARE (Roadless Area Review and Evaluation) in which National Forest roadless areas not included in the previously named Primitive Areas were identified and rated for possible wilderness designation.[135] The result of the RARE process was a list of 274 study areas, published in late 1973. Very few, however, lay east of the 100th meridian.

Although the Eastern Wilderness Act of 1975 established an eastern wilderness system, public pressure for more wilderness, and Federal dissatisfaction with the slow process of study and evaluation before public land use could be allocated, precipitated another review of potential wilderness sites.[136] Another Roadless Area Review and Evaluation was begun in 1977, which immediately came to be known as RARE II.

RARE II was proposed as a national town meeting wherein the public would help select potential wilderness sites and then evaluate them. The RARE II process thus built upon and extended the requisite for public involvement in Forest Service planning that had been expressed in legislation since 1964.[137] The evaluation demanded a quick decision: within a year and a half, each site was to be designated either "wilderness," "nonwilderness," or "needing further planning"—subject to congressional approval or modification. During the summer of 1977, workshops were held throughout the country to review a preliminary list of Forest Service-proposed wilderness sites and to suggest designation of others. On August 6, 1977, a public workshop was held in Dahlonega, Ga., to comment on wildernesses proposed in the Chattahoochee National Forest. At this meeting, the public literally drew boundaries on maps around areas they favored for wilderness.

After considering the public comments, the Forest Service selected 2,688 areas nationwide for possible wildernesses. The criteria for eastern wildernesses were different from those of western areas; for example, they could contain one-half mile of improved road for every 1,000 acres. Nevertheless, relatively few areas were named in the eastern forests, and not even 3 percent were in the forests of the Southern Appalachians.[138]

In June 1978 the Forest Service published its Draft Environmental Statement announcing the potential wildernesses, and during the summer and early fall, solicited public response. Town meetings were held to explain the RARE II process, to outline the possible wilderness areas, to clarify wilderness management, and to receive public questions and comments. Largely through announcements in local newspapers and other media, the agency openly sought letters, written comments on pre-printed forms, and visits from the public.[139]

The size and intensity of the public reaction surprised some in the Forest Service. Altogether, 264,093 separate responses (with 359,414 signatures) were received nationwide, "the largest number of comments the agency had ever received on a Draft Environmental Statement—or on anything else for that matter."[140]

Mountaineers Protest Strongly

The response of southern mountaineers, although part of the national reaction, was particularly strong, one-sided, and widespread. In one sense, the emotions expressed went beyond their typical and long-standing mistrust of government, frequently noted by Appalachian scholars; in another, they were no more than a release of pent-up frustrations and dissatisfactions with the Federal Government.[141]

From the beginning of the land acquisition program the Forest Service had filled many roles in relation to the local population: Buyer, patron, employer, persuader, educator, disciplinarian, friend. In most of these roles the agency activated some respect of the relationship and guided it toward a predefined goal. For example, from earliest days it chose to crusade against man-caused forest fires. This effort led to interactions with the local population that varied according to the personalities of the ranger and careless burner or incendiarist involved.[142] The mountaineer's resistance, although not always passive, had been generally silent. His frustrations became increasingly pronounced during the 1960's, however. The relationship between Forest Service managers and both the recently arrived and long-settled local populations became more and more strained by complexity and distance.

One factor that contributed to the strain was the change in the defined role of the district ranger. Because of the growing public demands on the National Forests and the increased complexity of land management, the ranger was drawn more and more into an administrative role. He was expected to be the "whole man," handling all aspects of land management and public relations.[143] To ensure that the ranger performed his job well, much of the time he had formerly spent training forest technicians and work crews was transferred to his district staff. As paperwork multiplied, he had to spend more time in his office and less in the forest.[144]

During the 1960's, throughout the region, the ranger's office was moved from the forest into nearby towns. Such relocation was done primarily to give the towns an economic boost and to enhance public access to the ranger, but it proved generally detrimental to his relationships with the people in his district. As a Chattahoochee forester explained the problem, rural folk traditionally came to town only once a week — Saturday. Thus, if the ranger was based in town and tied to his desk, people would see him at most only one day out of seven.[145]

This distance between the ranger and the rural residents was even more pronounced in the case of the forest supervisor. The former ranger assistant, L. E. Perry of McCreary County, writes with some acidity and apparent disgruntlement on the remoteness he perceived in the Daniel Boone forest managers:

> The office of the forest supervisor of the Daniel Boone forest was located as far from the national forest as politely possible, at Winchester, Kentucky, in the heart of Bluegrass country, amidst horse farms, stately homes and country clubs. From this comfortable position the supervisor with a large staff of subalterns has directed the activities of his district rangers. As the forest supervisor he belongs to an elite group of minibureaucrats because he holds one of about 150 such positions in the United States. On rare occasions a forest supervisor makes a brief tour of the ranger stations on the forest but keeps a discreet distance from the general public, taking great pains to shun all politicians below the office of Governor or a U.S. Congressman, and aloof from most corporation executives or professional people unless circumstances dictate otherwise.[146]

Perry's description of the role and attitude of the forest supervisor, if strongly biased and inaccurate, nonetheless reflects the estrangement the mountaineer sometimes felt between himself and the Forest Service.

Another factor that contributed to this estrangement was the replacement in the mid-1960's of the fire warden system. Under this system, which had been in existence for decades in the eastern forests, a fire warden — a local man selected by the ranger for his leadership and reliability — headed a team of about 10 citizens who could be summoned immediately on notice of a fire. Fires were reported to the warden, who is turn reported to the district ranger.[147] Over the years, however, the type of person suitable to serve as warden had become harder to find. Increasingly, such citizens commuted to work in nearby towns or cities; they were not at home to respond to fire emergencies or to activate a fire crew.[148]

In the 1960's, aerial detection and special fire crews became the chief means of fire control, and the need for fire towers, crews to man them, and local labor declined. Although the new fire protection system was more efficient and helped substantially to reduce the size and number of fires, a chain of communication between the ranger and local community was broken. "Gone was much of the direct contact with the local folks and their appreciation of the Forest Service attitudes, interests and personnel."[149] The same was true of local involvement with timber stand improvement and tree planting, as during the 1960's much of this work was contracted out to professionals.[150]

Thus, it is apparent that during the 1960's and 1970's, as the size of the Forest Service administrative staff increased, and as mountaineers were contacted less often about its activities, local resentments towards Federal land managers in the Southern Appalachians increased. At the same time, throughout the region, public land acquisition intensified: the Federal Government had pressed for recreational land even to the point of taking it by condemnation, and more and more outsiders had arrived to buy whatever was left. In the eyes of many mountaineers, its proposal to designate local land as wilderness was an intolerable last straw.

The Forest Service, however, was sensitive to local feelings. It was specifically asking the people to voice opinions on a major land-management issue. Such a request was part of a recently increased Servicewide effort to involve the public in the National Forest planning process; however, it was not only new to the mountain people, but also alien to their usual method of handling community problems:

> [It] may be that the methods used by the Forest Service to elicit public input are not those that fit with the social and cultural ways of local Western North Carolina people. Natives of this area have generally been reluctant to speak in public meetings, write letters to public officials, or organize to put political pressure on national government organizations, especially if there is any division of opinion within their own communities on an issue.[151]

Reluctance notwithstanding, RARE II sparked an historically atypical response in the region that often surprised forest officers.

On the whole, the mountain people opposed more wilderness, especially in the Cherokee and Chattahoochee forests. Even in North Carolina, where out-of-State interest in RARE II was strongest, about 62 percent of respondents opposed more wilderness, 32 percent supported more.[152]

Opposition to wilderness was directed at the Federal Government in general. A citizen of Elizabethton, Tenn., for example, said simply, "Upper East Tennesseans do not want anyone in Congress to tell us what is Wilderness. I am opposed to it."[153] More often, however, people responding to RARE II focused on specific sites. Certain areas drew particular interest—like Blood Mountain in the Chattahoochee, Clifty area of the Red River Gorge in the Daniel Boone, Southern Nantahala in the Nantahala and Chattahoochee forests, Cheoah Bald in the Nantahala, and Citico Creek in the Cherokee forest. Many people wanted some of the areas to be wilderness; other areas were almost universally favored for nonwilderness, and some drew a mixed response.[154]

Restrictions, Outsiders Seen as Threats

Opposition to more wilderness in the region was based on several issues: (1) the ban on logging in wilderness; (2) the threat of losing county tax revenue; (3) the exclusion of motorized vehicles from wilderness; (4) the "invasion" of the area's National Forests by "outsiders"; (5) the threat to private holdings within and adjacent to wilderness areas, and (6) the rights of the Federal Government versus those of the private citizen.

These issues were not always clearly understood or articulated. In spite of the town meetings and press releases, misinformation circulated widely, even through the local newspapers. The *Watauga Democrat* of Boone, N.C., stated in August 1978 that under RARE II, "There will be no hunting, fishing, or other recreational use of the [wilderness] lands."[155] Two newspapers in Towns, Ga., implied that the wilderness nearby was being established for blacks and the unemployed. (There were no blacks in Towns County.) Thus, as one pro-wilderness resident of Hiwassee, Ga., wrote, "fear and bigotry was the reason" for RARE II opposition.[156]

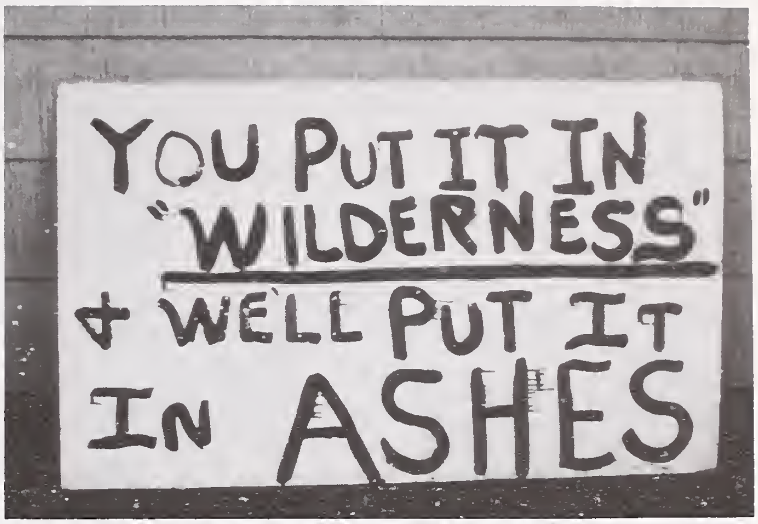


Figure 118.—Homemade sign on plywood made by opponents of expanded wilderness areas in North Georgia during the Forest Service's second Roadless Area Review and Evaluation (RARE II) hearings in the late 1970's. (Photo by Chattahoochee National Forest)

Lumbermen throughout the Southern Appalachians strongly opposed wilderness proposals. As Opel Smallwood of Frenchburg, Ky., expressed it, "There's a world of timber in there . . . just falling down and will go to waste."[157] Areas where the lumber industry was predominant were particularly opposed. The Shady Valley community of Carter County, Tenn. for example, had two sawmills employing about 30 men, heavily dependent on Cherokee forest timber. The timber operators feared that designating the nearby Beaver Dam Creek area as a wilderness would force them to close their mills. The Forest Service's internal assessments concurred that one or both mills might close if Beaver Dam Creek was declared a wilderness.[158]

Similarly, in remote Graham County, N.C., on the southern border of Great Smoky Mountains National Park, where 75 percent of the labor force was employed in timber-related jobs, antagonism toward RARE II was strong. Six of the roadless areas under study, including Cheoah Bald, were in the county—which is 60 percent in National Forest. In 1977 the Doyle Brock Bemis Lumber Co. of Robbinsville began petitioning the forest supervisor's office in Asheville, and several citizens' groups were organized in the area.[159]

The timber interests expressed opposition to RARE II primarily through lobbying and newspaper campaigns. Long accustomed to supporting and protecting their interests, they were familiar with methods of political persuasion. In addition to writing letters to their district rangers, timber groups visited their city councils and congressmen, or wrote letters to local newspapers. The Appalachian Hardwood Council, which represents many of the South's largest timber companies, sent officials to Washington in the summer of 1978 to protest further wilderness in the southern mountains.[160]

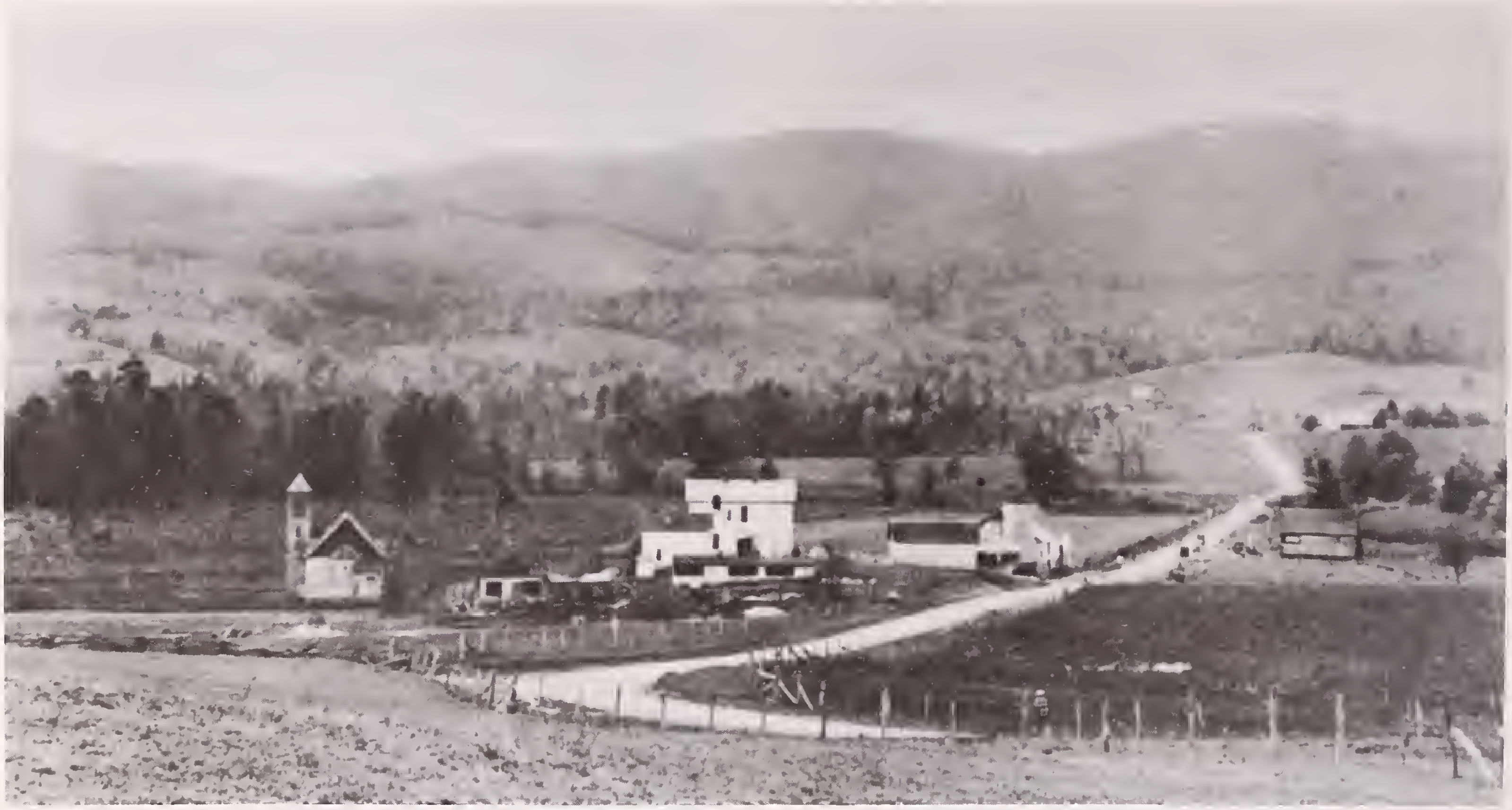


Figure 119.—Shady Valley, Tenn., in December 1928, then a cluster of farms surrounded by forested hills with some fields returning to forest, adjoining the Unaka (now Cherokee) National Forest. (NA:95G-230401)

Numerous letters to district rangers expressed fear of counties losing incoming because of wilderness. RARE II gave many people the chance to express their belief that the Federal Government had been shortchanging their local governments for years. Although the Payment-In Lieu-of-Taxes Act had substantially increased payments to Southern Appalachian counties with National Forests, some either were unaware of the increase, or considered 75 cents per acre still inadequate compensation.[161]

Probably the most widely expressed opposition to the proposed wilderness in the Southern Appalachians was based on the exclusion of roads and motorized vehicles. Although hunting and fishing were to be permitted in wildernesses, access was limited to horseback or foot travel. Hunters and fishermen, accustomed to entering the woods in a pickup or 4-wheel drive vehicle, loudly attacked the restriction. Protests came from sportsmen's clubs, such as the Carter County Hunting and Fishing Club in Tennessee, as well as from individual sportsmen. As a resident of Lakemont, Ga., wrote, "I like to hunt and fish, but would like to drive within easy walking distance."[162] The letters of protest also came from mountaineers who use the woods for berrying and gathering firewood. Quite a few complained that the roadless designation was discriminatory. A Rabun County citizen wrote:

> If roads are closed, only the young, hale and hearty will be able to use the inner-regions of the wilderness while the elderly, handicapped and those who are not well-in-body will have to nibble around the edges. It's not right . . . it's not American.[163]

Some of the protest against wilderness designation focused on the outsiders who visit the National Forests. A Marble, N.C., man, interviewed by CBS News, wondered, "People in Raleigh and Washington, D.C., they don't have to make their living here. They don't have to heat with wood. Where we gonna' get heater wood? Where's these men gonna' work over here?"[164] Although many expressed concern about the general overuse of wildernesses, some spoke disparagingly of the type of people attracted to them. Throughout the region, the mountaineers made a clear distiction between themselves and the weekenders who hiked the Appalachian Trail, rode the Chattooga River, or backpacked near the Red River Gorge of the Daniel Boone. A Georgia resident wrote, "I used to be able to drive with my family down on the Chattooga and camp out. Now it is only open to river riding hippies."[165] Another Georgia resident wrote, "I like to be able to get out and ride Dune Buggies and 4 Wheel. I don't like these city slickers and Hippies taking over."[166]

Private Inholdings Are Protected

Emotions sparked by RARE II also ran high over the question of private inholdings within designated wildernesses. The Eastern Wilderness Act provided for acquisition of inholdings, but put no specific restrictions on the use of private land within or adjacent to wilderness. The Act authorized condemnation or exchange when the use of an inholding was incompatible with wilderness, but it did not define incompatibility. Since some of the proposed wildernesses contained several inholdings, the ambiguity created some alarm. For example, the 11,115-acre Clifty area in the Red River Gorge contained 2,145 acres in private ownership. Most was in summer-home lots and vacation cabins, but there was one permanent resident, the elderly Mrs. Ernie Tyra. Mrs. Tyra, who had optioned 115 of her 250 acres for sale to the Government, seemed less concerned about the wilderness designation than the second-home owners in the area, many of whom sent written comments to the forest supervisor.[167] Although the Clifty area was finally selected for wilderness, it was determined that the inholdings, if their present use continued, were not incompatible with wilderness, and that nothing in the area would change, "except that it [the designation] will never be changed."[168]

In the Chattahoochee National Forest, the proposed Blood Mountain and Broad Camp roadless areas stirred inholders' reactions. When their perimeters were originally drawn, several summer homes in the vicinity of Lake Winfield Scott, and private lands with farms, chicken houses, and commercial enterprises were included. Clearly, some of these would be incompatible with wilderness. People asked what would become of these settlements—would their land-use options be restricted? Would the Forest Service take their land? The Forest Service, however, was unable to give a precise, definitive answer.

A public meeting was called in April 1978, in Suches, Union County, Ga., to which the Chattahoochee supervisor was called to explain the agency's intentions. Suches is a hamlet of only a few families cradled in the hills, but over 200 people were gathered in the local Woody Gap School. The crowd was visibly hostile; the supervisor was grateful to have had an assistant and two local ministers, Baptist and Methodist, acting as moderators and protectors.[169]

The meeting passed without violence. Primarily as a result of the meeting, the supervisor acted to insure that the boundaries of the areas recommended for wilderness were redrawn to eliminate all private lands. He published a letter to the citizens of northern Georgia acknowledging a Forest Service error, and the validity of local concern.[170]

How Much Wilderness?

Finally, some of the opposition to RARE II was based on the general issue of Federal rights and the particular issue of how much land and land-use control the Federal Government should have. "Must the Forest Service be so greedy?" a Young Harris, Ga., woman asked.[171] A Blairsville, Ga., dentist wrote, "Although I'm an avid environmentalist, I feel that the current proposed legislation imposes too much upon the citizens' rights under our Constitution."[172]

Throughout the Southern Appalachians, citizens were not content simply to write protest letters to their district rangers. Many of them organized protest groups. Jack Brettler, of Franklin, N.C., started the Save America Club; Jimmy Rogers, a Baptist minister with interests in timber, organized the Stop RARE II Coalition in western North Carolina and northern Georgia. The Coalition issued "Stop RARE II" bumper stickers, which were popular on the mountain roads.[173] By far the largest and most effective local organization was SORE—Save Our Recreational Environment. SORE was formed in September 1977, in Tellico Plains, Monroe County, Tenn., and was led by the mayor, Charles Hall. SORE boasted about 2,500 members, but it sponsored many times that number of protest letters. SORE inundated the Cherokee forest office with written comments on RARE II. Indeed, Tennessee ranked fifth nationally in the number of responses received, more than half of them sponsored by SORE.[174]

The intense, instant opposition to RARE II in the Tellico Plains area can be explained largely by the concern already present over the halting of the Tellico Dam and Tellico-Robbinsville Scenic Highway. Both of these projects had been stopped by environmentalist protest but were favored by the local population because they would boost the area's marginal economy.[175] The Tellico Dam, a proposed TVA project on the Little Tennessee River, was halted by a court ruling based on the threat to the snail darter, an endangered fish species.[176] The Scenic Highway, which had been approved in 1964, was opposed from the beginning by environmentalists because its path traversed a portion of the Joyce Kilmer Memorial Forest, a remote and pristine area of the Nantahala National Forest.[177] The original route was shifted, and one-third of the highway had been completed through the Cherokee National Forest on the Tennessee side when it was halted by environmental opposition.

SORE thus represented a convergence of issues. Moreover, the success of SORE was partly attributable to the ease with which local residents and vacation homeowners could work together. In contrast to the situation in northern Georgia and southwestern North Carolina, many second-home owners in the East Tennessee mountains had roots there. Although they lived in Chattanooga or Knoxville, their families had come from the mountains, and they felt at home there. They drove the same cars, and looked and talked the same, as the full-time local residents. Thus, the two groups worked easily together for a common goal: no more mountain wilderness.[178]

Considering the high level of emotion, concern, and involvement generated by RARE II, it is not surprising that antiwilderness protest threatened at times to become violent. The level of hostility at RARE II meetings was often high. In Franklin, N.C., in early August 1978, the Forest Service presented an "information meeting," which brought "a caravan of cars and pickups, heavy log-loaders and tractor-trailer rigs" to town.[179] Citizens had previously agreed to refrain from verbal comment at the meeting. However, when one unidentified man yelled, "We don't want no more damned wilderness," the mayor of Franklin, claiming to be a protestor himself, led a walkout.[180]

The most widespread threat expressed was burning the forests, should they be designated wilderness. For example, in the Chattahoochee National Forest in the summer of 1978, a plywood roadside sign was posted that read, "You put it in 'wilderness' and we'll put it in ashes."[181] Such threats were verbal as well as written, and became a popular subject of local newspaper editorials and analyses. April 1978 was a month of unusually numerous fires across the Southeast, attributable in part to unseasonably dry weather. Some of the fires, however, were called deliberate.[182] That month, the Asheville *Citizen-Times* in an editorial discussed reasons for deliberate forest burning. Acknowledging the Southern tradition of burning the woods for the purpose of clearing land and eliminating rodents, snakes, and insects, the article also cited revenge and 'misguidance' as motivations. " 'Big government,' . . . an unresponsive society . . . foresters," all were cited as targets of vengeful burning.[183] (Ironically, that very month, in McCreary County, Ky., the Forest Service was embarrassed when a debris-burning fire it had set to clear a 100-acre plot flattened by a tornado spread out of control, aided by very dry brush and gusting winds, until it had covered 1,400 acres in the Daniel Boone National Forest.[184]

However, although there were threats and hints of violence, there were almost no violent acts documented. Rangers on the Cherokee observed that, even at the height of the RARE II conflict, the number of incendiary fires remained about the same as for the previous 10 years.[185] In both the Pisgah and Nantahala forests, although the total number of man-caused fires (accidental or deliberate) in 1978 was greater than in 1977, it differed little from that of 1976.[186] In general, mountain people were striving to control the forests for the uses most important to them—hunting, fishing, gathering, fuel, and timber. In spite of the threats, there was no hostile intent toward the forests themselves.[187]

By the end of 1978, the wilderness recommendations were announced—only 89,000 acres in the Southern Appalachians, a large portion of which was the Southern Nantahala area of the Nantahala and the Chattahoochee National Forests. Other sizeable designations were the Brasstown Bald area of northern Georgia and the Clifty area of Kentucky. In Tennessee, only one roadless area, the Bald River Gorge east of Knoxville, was recommended for wilderness—less than 4,000 acres. Considerably more land was slated for nonwilderness status than was put into the further planning category. In the Cherokee forest, only 38,100 acres were assigned to further planning; in the Chattahoochee, more than 93,000. Further planning areas are to be managed as wilderness until their status is finally decided.[188]

With the announcement in early January 1979 of the outcome of the RARE II process, the public furor subsided. However, the issues raised during RARE II remained alive, and only partially resolved. The RARE II outcome obviously could not please everyone, and, as expected, some of the groups that contributed heavily to the public response were not pleased with the results. In Tennessee, where only Bald River Gorge was committed to wilderness, environmentalists were outspoken in their disappointment. In Tennessee and North Carolina, the Wilderness Coalition, the Sierra Club, and other prowilderness groups vowed to exert strong pressure for the areas under "further planning" to be designated wilderness.[189]

In some mountain areas, people continued to protest *any* land being designated wilderness; and some felt that too few areas were designated nonwilderness. Jack Brettler, of the Save America Club in North Carolina, expressed disappointment that the Harper Creek tract, which contains uranium deposits, was recommended for further study.[190] Antiwilderness forces of Robbinsville, N.C. were upset that three out of the six sites in Graham County were designated wilderness, and vowed to get the other three assigned to multiple use. "We're going to fight just as hard for those areas as if there were six. We're going to fight full steam."[191] In northern Georgia, many mountain communities expressed concern about the acres set aside for further planning. As the Towns County school superintendent said, "People are afraid that the federal bureaucracy will take a little more each year, and you lose more and more."[192]

Mining Issue Is Unresolved

A potentially more explosive issue was not addressed by the RARE II process and remained unresolved: mining in National Forest wilderness areas. Shortly after the Wilderness Act was passed, the Chief of the Forest Service expressed concern that this issue could cause "some of our most difficult administrative problems."[193] Under the Wilderness Act and Eastern Wilderness Act, mining was permitted in designated wilderness areas, according to terms of preexisting leases and permits, until December 31, 1983.[194] (In the eastern National Forests, mineral rights under one-third of the land are not owned by the Government; either they were reserved by the seller when Federal acquisition occurred or they were already outstanding in third parties. In the Daniel Boone and Jefferson forests, where coal deposits are known to exist, even more of the subsurface mineral rights are held by private interests. For example, of 85,000 acres on the Clinch Ranger District of the Jefferson, 55,000—or 65 percent—have privately held mineral rights.)

Although the Forest Service has been unable to dictate the extent of mining in parts of the Southern Appalachian forests, mineral extraction prior to 1975 was limited, and most was through deep mining, which generally did not jeopardize other forest uses.[195] However, as strip-mining of marginal lands became more economically feasible, the threat of major land-use controversies grew. In the late 1970's, such a controversy erupted over strip-mining in the Beaver Creek wilderness of the Daniel Boone National Forest.

In 1975, the Greenwood Land and Mining Co., which operated four deep mines in the Daniel Boone forest, purchased rights to 5,000 acres of coal under the Beaver Creek wilderness in McCreary County—rights that had been reserved when the land was sold to the Government in 1937. Greenwood applied for a permit to prospect for coal at 27 sites, 22 of which were in the wilderness. The prospecting would have involved th euse of motorized equipment and excavation. Ultimate recovery of the coal would require some contour stripping.[196]

The Forest Service denied the permit, on the basis that the prospecting was not compatible with wilderness management. Greenwood filed suit in U.S. District Court in November 1976; the court ruled in favor of Greenwood, but, commenting on an issue beyond the immediate suit, added that strip-mining could not occur on public property.[197] Meanwhile, the Forest Service began planning to acquire Greenwood's interests in the Beaver Creek area, as the mining company appealed its case. Neither initiative had been settled by early 1982.[198]

A similar case in the same county had a different outcome. In 1976 the Stearns Coal and Lumber Co. applied for a permit to strip-mine 15 acres of National Forest land on White Oak Creek. The Forest Service denied the application, citing the Secretary of Agriculture's Rules and Regulations of 1911 with which Stearns' reserved rights had to comply.[199] Stearns "wholly rejected" the premises of the Forest Service denial, and took the case to court for resolution.[200] In 1978, the Kentucky State Supreme Court upheld the Kentucky tradition that, in the case of a broad form deed, mining rights take precedence over surface rights, even if the surface owner is the United States Government and the surface is "public property."

The case went to Federal court, and in early 1982 was still unsettled. The outcome of the case will have repercussions not only in McCreary County, where Greenwood Land and Mining Co. is seeking to traverse and possibly strip within the Beaver Creek wilderness, but throughout the Daniel Boone and other eastern National Forests. The most decisive recourse for the Forest Service would be acquisition of or exchanging other land for the mining rights to such land—either a very expensive solution.

By early 1982, Congress had not yet acted to establish the recommended new wilderness areas in the Southern Appalachians. In the meantime, public use of most of the areas that had been previously designated wilderness was increasing substantially. In only 3 years, between 1977 and 1980, the estimated recreational use of the eight wildernesses of the Southern Appalachians increased by over 13 percent.[201] The pressures on the forests of the region, from backpackers, Federal recreation developers, and the mountaineers, seemed focused on wilderness areas. Yet the issues surrounding wilderness—particularly strip mining and the acquisition of inholdings—remained unresolved.

Reference Notes

1. 72 Stat. 238.

2. "The ORRRC Recommendations—1962," in Phillip O. Foss, *Conservation in the United States: A Documentary History* (New York: Chelsea Publishers, 1971), pp. 581-587. See also Edwin M. Fitch and John F. Shanklin, *The Bureau of Outdoor Recreation* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1970), pp. 60-78.

3. The Bureau of Outdoor Recreation (BOR) was created April 2, 1962, by Interior Secretary Stewart L. Udall under the authority of Reorganization Plan No. 3 of 1950. Foss, *Conservation in the United States,* p. 595. See also Fitch and Shanklin, *The Bureau of Outdoor Recreation.* BOR was deactivated January 25, 1978 by Secretary Cecil D. Andrus, and its functions shifted to the new Heritage Recreation and Conservation Service, which was abolished February 19, 1981 by Secretary James Watt and most functions shifted to the Park Service.

4. "Executive Order Establishing the Recreation Advisory Council, April 27, 1962," in Foss, *Conservation in the United States,* pp. 601, 602.

5. 77 Stat. 49., Foss, *Conservation in the United States,* pp. 601-623.

6. U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Outdoor Recreation, *A Report on Outdoor Recreation Demand, Supply, and Needs in Appalachia.* Prepared for the Appalachian Regional Commission, September 1967, pp. 20-27. *Recreation As An Industry,* Appalachian Research Report No. 2. Prepared for the Appalachian Regional Commission by Robert R. Nathan Associates, Inc. and Resources Planning Associates, Washington, D.C., December 1966, p. v.

7. 78 Stat. 897. See Chapter VII for discussion of LWCF acquisition in the Southern Appalachian forests.

8. LWCF Act, Section 6 (a) (1).

9. Fitch and Shanklin, *The Bureau of Outdoor Recreation,* p. 74.

10. "The Recreation Advisory Council Policy on National Recreation Areas, March 26, 1963," in Foss, *Conservation in the United States,* pp. 444-448.

11. 80 Stat. 190.

12. Letter from the Secretary of Agriculture in *Establishment of the Mount Rogers National Recreation Area in Virginia,* Report to Accompany H.R. 10366, 89th Congress, 1st Session, p. 5.

13. Letter from the Secretary in Mt. Rogers Report, pp. 5-7. See also William E. Shands and Robert G. Healy, *The Lands Nobody Wanted,* p. 44. (Washington: The Conservation Foundation, 1977).

14. Recreation-Use Information, computerized data on microfiche, Recreation Management Staff, USDA, Forest Service, Washington, D.C.

15. Act to Establish Mount Rogers, Section 3 (a).

16. *Establishment of the Mount Rogers National Recreation Area in Virginia,* pp. 4, 5. (See note 12).

17. Letter from the Secretary of Agriculture in *Establishment of the Mount Rogers National Recreation Area in Virginia,* 5.

18. Letter from the Secretary of Agriculture, 5. Update on easements obtained by Frank J. Harmon, History Section, Washington Office, in telephone conversation with Philip B. Etchison and William E. Clark, Lands Staff, Southern Region, Forest Service, Atlanta, Ga., January 28, 1982.

19. Information on general acquisition perspectives on Mount Rogers NRA provided by Charles A. Blankenship, Recreation Staff, Jefferson National Forest, Roanoke, Va., February 19, 1981.

20. Information provided by William E. Clark, Lands Staff, Forest Service, Regional Office, Atlanta, Ga., February 20, 1981, and January 29, 1982. Additional data provided by Philip B. Etchison, Group Leader, Landownership, Lands Staff, Southern Regional Office, USDA Forest Service, Atlanta, Ga., September 15, 1981. PL 91-646, known as the Uniform Relocation Assistance and Real Property Acquisition Act of 1970 (84 Stat. 1894), became law on January 2, 1971. See Title I, paragraph 101.

An example of a Mount Rogers condemnation case based on a dispute over the price of land is that of John Kabler. Kabler, a bankr from Delray Beach, Fla., purchased a 106-acre tract in the Fairwood Valley area of Smythe County in June 1972 for $22,000. According to the Forest Service correspondence file on the Kabler case, Kabler had been informed bfore purchasing the property that the Forest Service needed it for the NRA. Almost immediately after acquisition, he began improvements to the property, including a vacation cabin, septic field, roads, and clearing. The Forest Service began efforts to acquire the tract but Kabler, although continually informing the Forest Service of his improvements, professed a complete unwillingness to sell. He wrote letters and visited politicians to protest both the acquisition itself and the approximately $40,000 appraised value the Forest Service offered. The case was finally settled in court in June 1974 when Mr. Kabler was awarded $75,000, nearly three and a half times the value of the tract two years before.

21. *Newsletter of the Citizens for Southwest Virginia,* Troutdale, May 1978, p. 7.

22. *Newsletter of the Citizens for Southwest Virginia,* August 1978, p. 3.

23. Interview with Charles Blankenship, Jefferson National Forest, Roanoke, Va., February 1981.

24. Telephone interview with Lawrence Pierce, Citizens for Southwest Virginia, Troutdale, Va., February 25, 1981.

25. Interview with Charles Cushman, President, National Inholders Association, Sonoma, Calif., March 6, 1981.

26. A detailed account of the Big South Fork project is in Perry, *McCreary Conquest,* pp. 151-164; updated by author's interview with Robert Strosnider, Lands, Daniel Boone National Forest, Winchester, Ky., March 10, 1981. See also, Patrick E. Tyler, "Why It Helps to Know Sen. Howard Baker," *The Washington Post,* March 15, 1981.

27. Tyler, "Why It Helps to Know Sen. Howard Baker."

28. L.E. Perry, *McCreary Conquest, A Narrative History* (Whitley City, Ky.: L. E. Perry, 1979), p. 164; Tyler, "Why It Helps to Know Sen. Howard Baker."

29. 88 Stat. 12, 43; PL 93-251, Section 108. Telephone interview with Charles Hooper, Chief, Real Estate Division, Nashville Office of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, March 13, 1981.

30. Interview with Charles Hooper, U.S. Army Corps of Engineers. Tyler, "Why It Helps to Know Sen. Howard Baker."

31. "The Lesson of Gatlinburg," *Courier Journal,* Louisville, Ky., September 12, 1978.

32. Perry, *McCreary Conquest,* p. 164.

33. 82 Stat. 906.

34. Some confusion over the Federal designation of a Wild River versus a State designation is apparent in the case of the Big South Fork of the Cumberland River in the Daniel Boone National Forest. L. E. Perry, in his book *McCreary Conquest,* stated that the Big South Fork had been designated under the Wild and Scenic Rivers Act of 1968; in fact, the river became a Kentucky Wild River under the Wild Rivers Act of 1972, and is administered by the Kentucky Department for Natural Resources and Environmental Protection. "Wild Rivers of Kentucky," publication of Department of Natural Resources and Environmental Protection, Frankfort, Ky., n.d.

35. This designation was legislatively confirmed by PL 94-407, September 11, 1976.

36. *Environmentall Impact Statement—Modified Blue Ridge Project No. 2317,* Federal Power Commission, June 1973, pp. 37, 38.

37. A glossy folded brochure entitled, "The New River, A Heritage Endangered," with colored photographs, was distributed by the National Committee for the New River. Reports were regularly printed in Committee letterhead.

38. National Committee for the New River, "Up-Dated Report, People Versus Power," Winston Salem, N.C., n.d., p. 7.

39. "New River—Chronology of Events," Bureau of Outdoor Recreation internal document, April 16, 1976.

40. *Final Environmental Statement—Proposed Scenic Designation of South Fork New River,* U.S. Department of Interior, Bureau of Outdoor Recreation, March 1976, pp. 199, 200; *Revised Management Plan—South Fork New River and Main Stem New River, North Carolina,* North Carolina Department of Natural and Economic Resources, June 1975.

41. Interview with County Manager, Ashe County, N.C., February 19, 1981.

42. P.L. 93-279.

43. Information provided by Charles D. Huppuch, Lands Staff, USDA Forest Service Regional Office, Atlanta, Ga., February 1981.

44. "Guidelines For Evaluating Wild, Scenic and Recreational River Areas Proposed for Inclusion in the National Wild and Scenic Rivers System Under Section 2, Public Law 90-542," Department of the Interior, February 1970, pp. 7, 8.

45. Interview with Pat Thomas, Supervisor, Chattahoochee National Forest, Gainesville, Ga., July 11, 1979; supplemented with interview with Charles Huppuch, Lands Staff, USDA Forest Service Regional Office, Atlanta, Ga.

46. Steve Oney, "The Wilderness Campaign," *The Atlanta Journal and Constitution Magazine,* Atlanta, Ga., September 24, 1978, p. 18.

47. Recreation-Use Information, Recreation Management Staff, USDA-Forest Service, Washington, D.C.

48. Comments provided by P. Ledford, Clayton, Ga., to Chattahoochee National Forest Headquarters, Gainesville, Ga.,. June 30, 1978.

49. Sally Kirk Fairfax, "Federal-State Cooperation in Outdoor Recreation Policy Formation: The Case of the Appalachian Trail," (Ph.D. dissertation, Duke University, 1974), pp. 12-33. See also Edward B. Garvey, *Appalachian Hiker II* (Oakton, Va.: Appalachian Books, 1978), pp. 6-20.

50. "Appalachian Trail Protection Progress Report," Status as of August 1981. Provided by Land Acquisition Field Office, National Park Service, Martinsburg, W.Va.

51. 82 Stat. 919.

52. 82 Stat. 919; Section 5 (a).

53. 82 Stat. 919; Section 7 (g).

54. Interview with Vince McCormack, Lands Staff, USDA Forest Service, Regional Office, Atlanta, Ga., July 10, 1979. Confirmed in telephone interview with Charles D. Huppuch, Lands Staff, February 17, 1981.

55. Sally Kirk Fairfax, "Federal-State Cooperation in Outdoor Recreation Policy Formation: The Case of the Appalachian Trail," pp. 132-143. The Forest Service and Appalachian Trail Club also differed over interpreting the 1968 Act.

56. Fairfax, p. 137.

57. Fairfax, pp. 138, 139.

58. Information provided by Charles D. Huppuch, Lands Staff, USDA Forest Service Regional Office, Atlanta, Ga., February 17, 1981.

59. Land Acquisition Field Office, Appalachian National Scenic Trail, U.S. Department of the Interior, Martinsburg, W.Va., October 30, 1981.

60. 92 Stat. 159.

61. 92 Stat. 159; Section 5 (a) (1).

62. In fiscal year 1980, no funds were appropriated from the Land and Water Conservation Fund for Appalachian Trail right-of-way acquisition. However, other LWCF funds from the West were utilized for Trail purposes. Acquisition was slowed, but did not stop. Some funds also became available late in FY 1981. Information provided by Lands, Staff, USDA Forest Service, Regional Office, Atlanta, Ga., February and October, 1981.

63. Forest Service Lands Staff, Atlanta, Ga., February, 1981.

64. Information provided by Charles D. Huppuch, Lands Staff, USDA Forest Service Regional Office, Atlanta, Ga., February and October, 1981.

65. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Forest Service, Southern Region, "Red River Gorge—Land of Arches." See also Robert F. Collins, *A History of the Daniel Boone National Forest* (Lexington, Ky.: University of Kentucky Press, 1975), pp. 270-279.

66. Interview with Robert Reynolds, Lands, Daniel Boone National Forest, Winchester, Ky., March 13, 1981.

67. Joe Lamb, "Forest Service Criticizes Gateway Opposition to Wilderness Areas," *Morehead News,* Morehead, Ky., May 25, 1979.

68. Interview with Dr. Billie DeWalt, University of Kentucky anthropologist employed by the Forest Service to study Red River Gorge community, Winchester, Ky., July 27, 1979.

69. Fitch and Shanklin, *The Bureau of Outdoor Recreation,* p. 73. (See notes 2, 3, and 9.)

70. See Jesse R. Lankford, Jr., "The Campaign For a National Park in Western North Carolina, 1885-1940," Master's thesis, Western Carolina University, 1973, and Harley E. Jolley, "The Blue Ridge Parkway: Origins and Early Development," Ph.D. dissertation, Florida State University, 1973, as cited in Chapter V.

71. *Recreation As An Industry,* Appalachian Research Report No. 2. Prepared for the Appalachian Regional Commission by Robert R. Nathan Associates, Inc. and Resources Planning Associates, Washington, D.C., December 1966, p. v.

72. ARC's turnabout is cynically described by Anita Parlow, "The Land Development Rag," in Helen Matthews Lewis, Linda Johnson, and Donald Askins, *Colonialism in Modern America: The Appalachian Case* (Boone, N.C.: The Appalachian Consortium Press, 1978), pp. 190, 191.

73. Neil Walp, "The Market for Recreation in the Appalachian Highlands," *Appalachia* 4 (November-December 1970).

74. Walp, "The Market for Recreation in the Appalachian Highlands," p. 30.

75. Walp, p. 31.

76. Walp, p. 30.

77. A recent disseration identified six counties with high concentrations of tourism in the Souther Appalachians, based on the relative importance of lodging facilities and the percent of labor force employed in hotels and campgrounds. The six are Rabun County, Ga., Graham, Jackson, Swain, and Watauga Counties, N.C.; and Sevier County, Tenn. Jeffrey Wayne Neff, "A Geographic Analysis of the Characteristics and Development Trends of the Non-Metropolitan Tourist-Recreation Industry of Southern Appalachia," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Tennessee, 1975.

78. Neff, 30.

79. Neff, Chapter II.

80. Recreational use statistics are not comparable for the years before and after 1965; in that year the Forest Service shifted from reporting "visits" to "visitor-days." One visitor-day is equal to recreational use of national forest land or water that aggregates 12 visitor-hours. This may entail one person for 12 hours, 12 persons for one hour or any equivalent combination of use, continuous or intermittent. Recreation Management Staff, USDA Forest Service, Washington, D.C.

81. Recreation-Use data on the North Carolina forests include the Pisgah, Nantahala, Uwharrie, and Croatan National Forests; the data on the Chattahoochee include the Oconee.

82. Gatlinburg was cited in the *Response* of Citizens for Southwest Virginia as an example of what they hoped Mount Rogers would never become, pp. 40-42.

83. Jerome E. Dobson, "The Changing Control of Economic Activity in the Gatlinburg, Tennessee Area, 1930-1973," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Tennessee, 1975), p. 83.

84. Jeffrey Wayne Neff, "A Geographic Analysis of the Characteristics and Development Trends of the Non-Metropolitan Tourist-Recreation Industry," p. 53.

85. Dobson, "The Changing Control of Economic Activity in the Gatlinburg, Tennessee, Area," pp. 83-91.

86. Background on Hugh Morton is from "Morton and Mountain-Lifetime Dream," *Greensboro Daily News,* Sunday, October 1, 1978. Descriptions of Morton's development can be found in Parlow, "The Land Development Rag," p. 178, and John Van Noppen and Ina Van Noppen, *Western North Carolina Since the Civil War,* (Boone, N.C.: Appalachian Consortium Press, 1975), p. 412.

87. Anita Parlow, "The Land Development Rag," and Edgar Bingham, "The Impact of Recreational Development on Pioneer Life Styles in Southern Appalachia," in Lewis, Johnson, and Askins, *Colonialism in Modern America,* pp. 177-198, and 57-69; Van Noppen and Van Noppen, *Western North Carolina Since the Civil War,* p. 412.

88. Frank O'Neill, "Greatest Menace Yet to Southern Mountains," *Southern Voices,* May-June, 1974, p. 73.

89. Shands and Healy, in *The Lands Nobody Wanted,* cited Highlands, along with Massanutten Mountain in the George Washington National Forest, as an example of the "blighting developments" that exist "in almost every eastern national forest," p. 157 (See note 13.)

90. Data on Recreation-Tourism-Second Home Development Firms, Table 1, in *Southern Highlands Mountain Resources Management Plan,* Georgia Department of Natural Resources, North Carolina Department of Administration, South Carolina Department of Parks, Recreation, and Tourism, June 1974.

91. Curtis C. Roseman, *Changing Migration Patterns Within the United States,* Association of American Geographers Resource Paper No. 77-2, pp. 18-21.

92. Roseman, Table 2.

93. Roseman, Table 5.

94. Roseman, Table 3.

95. These data support for findings of Neff, "A Geographic Analysis of the Characteristics and Development Trends of the Non-Metropolitan Tourist-Recreation Industry."

96. "State Might Buy Troubled Resort For State Park," *Greensboro Daily News,* August 10, 1979.

97. *Greensboro Daily News,* August 10, 1979. Telephone query to Supervisor, National Forests in North Carolina, February 23, 1982.

98. Marion Clawson and Jack Knetsch, in *Economics of Outdoor Recreation* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1966), have found that, in general, only a small percent of recreationists' total expenditures stay in the local area. The Neff dissertation, "A Geographic Analysis of the Characteristics and Development Trends of the Non-Metropolitan Tourist—Recreation Industry of Southern Appalachia," confirms this, as does Charles Garrison's study of TVA's Norris Lake, "A Case Study of the Local Economic Impact of Reservoir Recreation," *Journal of Leisure Research,* 1974.

99. *North Carolina State Report,* "Preliminary Draft," Prepared for the Land Task Force of the Appalachian Alliance, 1980, p. 36. See Edgar Bingham, "The Impact of Recreational Development of Pioneer Life-Styles in Southern Appalachia," *Proceedings of the Pioneer America Society,* 1973, p. 60; Jeffrey Wayne Neff, "A Geographic Analysis of the Characteristics and Development Trends of the Non-Metropolitan Tourist-Recreation Industry of Southern Appalachia;" and ARC's *Recreation As An Industry.*

100. Lewis W. Green, "Strangers on the Land," *Appalachian Journal,* Fall 1976, p. 14.

101. Edgar Bingham, "The Impact of Recreational Development on Pioneer Life-Styles in Southern Appalachia," Proceedings of the Pioneer America Society (1973): p. 60.

102. George L. Hicks, *Appalachian Valley,* (New York: Holt, Rinehard and Winston, 1976), p. 50.

103. Hicks, pp. 51, 52.

104. Hicks, p. 62.

105. Draft *North Carolina State Report.*

106. Parlow, "The Land Development Rag," p. 180. (See note 87.)

107. Draft *North Carolina State Report,* p. 26.

108. *Recreation As An Industry,* pp. 51, 52.

109. *Southern Highlands Mountain Resources Management Plan,* p. 33.

110. Parlow, "The Land Development Rag," p. 184-186.

111. *Response* of Citizens for Southwest Virginia, Troutdale, 1978, p. 40.

112. The analogy between recreational development and coal and timber exploitation appears, for example, in Bingham, "The Impact of Recreational Development on Pioneer Life-Styles in Southern Appalachia;" O'Neill, "Greatest Menace Yet to the Southern Mountains;" and Parlow, "The Land Development Rag."

113. Parlow, "The Land Development Rag," pp. 186-188.

114. O'Neill, "Greatest Menace Yet to the Southern Mountains," p. 78.

115. *Southern Highlands Mountain Resources Management Plan,* pp. 36, 37. Similar lack of appropriate zoning in Virginia and West Virginia is noted in Shands and Healy, *The Lands Nobody Wanted,* p. 162.

116. Bingham, "The Impact of Recreational Development on Pioneer Life-Styles in Southern Appalachia," p. 62.

117. Margaret J. Boland, *Public Involvement in Forest Planning,* Community Research Center, Mars Hill College, January 15, 1979, p. 14.

118. Hicks, *Appalachian Valley,* p. 52.

119. Hicks, p. 53.

120. Garvey, *Appalachian Hiker II,* p. 167. (See note 49.)

121. Garvey, also Green, "Strangers on the Land," p. 13.

122. Green, "Strangers on the Land," p. 15.

123. Shands and Healy, *The Lands Nobody Wanted,* p. 159.

124. 78 Stat. 890.

125. Richard A. Cooley and Geoffrey Wandesforde-Smith, eds., *Congress and the Environment* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1970), p. 53; Frome, *Battle for the Wilderness,* pp. 130, 131.

126. Cooley and Wandesforde-Smith, *Congress and the Environment,* pp. 55-58.

127. 74 Stat. 215, 16 U.S.C. 529; (Section 2); Cooley and Wandesforde-Smith, *Congress and the Environment,* p. 54; *Federal Agencies and Outdoor Recreation,* ORRRC Report 13, p. 27.

128. Frome, *Battle For the Wilderness,* p. 121, 125, 145; *Federal Agencies and Outdoor Recreation,* p. 26. John C. Hendee, George H. Stankey, and Robert C. Lucas, *Wilderness Management* (Forest Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, October 1978), pp. 61-64. Michael McCloskey, "The Wilderness Act: its background and meaning," Oregon Law Review 45(4):288-321. Memorandum, Office of the Secretary, Department of Agriculture, September 17, 1926, "The Policy of the Department of Agriculture in Relation to Road Building and Recreational Use of the Superior National Forest, Minnesota, Forest Service, History Section files.

129. Hendee, Stankey, and Lucas, *Wilderness Management,* p. 75.

130. Shands and Healy, *The Lands Nobody Wanted,* pp. 45, 46; Frome, *Battle For the Wilderness,* pp. 170, 171.

131. Frome, *Battle For the Wilderness,* pp. 170-175.

132. Recreation-Use Information, on microfiche, Recreation Management Staff, USDA Forest Service, Washington, D.C.

133. Washington National Records Center, Forest Service Records, Acc. No. 95-78-0002, "Alternatives for Preserving and Managing National Forest Wild Land Values in the East."

134. 88 Stat. 2096.

135. Hendee, Stankey, and Lucas, *Wilderness Management.* pp. 103-105.

136. Hendee, Stankey, and Lucas, *Wilderness Management,* 103-105. See also, "RARE II Questions and Answers," Forest Service document obtained from USDA Forest Service Regional Office, Atlanta, Ga., n.d., pp. 1, 2.

137. The National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 (83 Stat. 852), the Forest and Rangeland Renewable Resources and Planning Act of 1974 (88 Stat. 476), and the National Forest Management Act of 1976 (90 Stat. 2901) all call for impact analyses and public involvement in forest planning.

138. "RARE II Questions and Answers," p. 5.

139. For example, the *Greenville,* Tenn., *Sun.* on August 16, 1978, published a Forest Service invitation for groups interested in a program on RARE II proposals to contact their local ranger station for scheduling. The July 2, 1978 *Lexington,* Ky., *Herald Leader* presented the RARE II proposals for the Daniel Boone and explained where copies of the Draft Environmental Impact Statement could be obtained.

140. "Fact Sheet," Computer printing of Questions and Answers, Summary of Public Comment Analysis, and Comments by the Secretary, Cutler, and Chief, U.S. Forest Service, January 3, 1979, pp. 11, 577-580.

141. See, for example, John D. Photiadis, "The Economy and Attitudes toward Government in Appalachia" in John D. Photiadis and Harry K. Schawrzweller, eds., *Changes in Rural Appalachia: Implications for Action Programs* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1970), pp. 122-126.

142. Kaufman, *The Forest Ranger: A Study in Administrative Behavior,* pp. 48-56. See also, "A List of Different Kinds of Things the Forest Service and Forest Officers Do Which Influence Residents."

143. National Archives, RG 95, Records of the Forest Service, Division of Operation, Organization, Servicewide Organization Study, *Implementing the P.M. Aspects of the Organization Study Recommendations, 1961,* Booklet of lesson plans, p. I-IV.

144. *Implementing the Organization Study,* p. I-IV.

145. Interview with Forest Supervisor Pat Thomas, and Foresters Howard Orr and Steve Briggs, Chattahoochee National Forest, Gainesville, Ga., July 11, 1979.

146. Perry, *McCreary Conquest,* p. 223.

147. Kaufman, *The Forest Ranger,* p. 52.

148. Interview with Pat Thomas and Howard Orr, Chattahoochee National Forest. Also, interview with Jack S. Kelley, Legislation, Regional Office, U.S. Forest Service, Atlanta, Ga., July 10, 1979.

149. Sidney Weitzman, *Lessons From the Monongahela Experience,* An In-Service Analysis Based on Interviews with Forest Service Personnel, December 1977, p. 8.

150. Weitzman, *Lessons From Monongahela,* 8.

151. Margaret J. Boland, *Public Involvement in Forest Planning,* Community Research Center, Mars Hill College (N.C.), January 15, 1979, pp. 12, 13.

152. Margaret J. Boland and Larry N. Stern, "Public Impact and Decision-Making in the U.S. Forest Service" Community Research Center, Mars Hill College, p. 6.

153. RARE II Oral Comment dated September 13, 1978, Cherokee National Forest Headquarters, Cleveland, Tenn.

154. "Narrative, RARE II Public Input Analysis, Southern Region," tabulation of RARE II responses, USDA Forest Service, Regional Office, Atlanta, Ga.

155. "Ah, Wilderness . . . When is Enough Enough?" *Watauga Democrat,* Boone, N.C., August 14, 1978.

156. Letter No. 08-00-002746-30546-1-1 to USDA Forest Service Regional Office, Atlanta, Ga., from resident of Hiwassee, Ga. See also Steve Oney, "The Wilderness Campaign," p. 27 (note 46).

157. Ed Ryan, "U.S. Urges Protection of Red River Gorge," *Courier Journal,* Louisville, Ky., January 5, 1979.

158. Based on analysis of questionnaires sent to district rangers as part of RARE II Individual Area Social Analysis, USDA Forest Service Regional Office, Atlanta, Ga.

159. Analysis of RARE II questionnaires, Atlanta, Ga.

160. Oney, "The Wilderness Campaign," p. 17.

161. See, for example, Lee Vance, "For the Record," *Erwin Record,* Erwin, Tenn., September 6, 1978.

162. RARE II Oral Comment dated June 24, 1978, received by Chattahoochee National Forest Headquarters, Gainesville, Ga.

163. Letter No. 08-03-01137-30525-1-1 to Forest Service, Tallulah Ranger District, Clayton, Ga., from resident of Clayton, Ga.

164. "Department of Agriculture Announces RARE II Proposals," CBS Evening News, Thursday, January 4, 1979, Radio-TV Monitoring Service, Inc.

165. RARE II Oral Comment dated June 24, 1978. See also Boland, *Public Involvement in Forest Planning* p. 15.

166. RARE II Oral Comment dated June 30, 1978, received by Chattahoochee National Forest headquarters, Gainesville, Georgia. The aspersions cast by some mountaineers on the urban recreationists were sometimes matched and exceeded by outsiders' comments on the protestors. A man from Pocatello, Idaho, enraged by a national news story citing Georgia residents threatening to burn the wilderness, wrote to the regional forester in Atlanta, "I'd like to see those stupid mountain YA HOOS try to burn them down. The national forests belong to everyone, not just some fat-bellied and round-assed Georgia locals." Letter 08-00-002377-83201-1-1.

167. "Bergland Proposes State Forest Be Included in Wilderness Area," *Lexington Herald.* Lexington, Ky., January 5, 1979.

168. "Want Forest To Be in 'Wilderness', *Menifee County News,* January 1979.

169. The information on the Suches meeting is based on an interview with Pat Thomas, Supervisor of the Chattahoochee National Forest, Roger Frantz, and Steve Briggs, Gainesville, Ga., July 11, 1979. The incident described is very similar to the experience of citizens of Bristol, Vermont over the designation in 1975 of the Bristol Cliffs wilderness area in the Green Mountain National Forest. Inholders learned of the wilderness only after it had already been created; they formed the Bristol Cliffs Wilderness Area Landowners Association and eventually succeeded in having all private inholdings removed from the wilderness area. Shands and Healy, *The Land Nobody Wanted*, pp. 166, 167.

170. "Open Letter to the Citizens of North Georgia," from W. Pat Thomas, Forest Supervisor, Chattahoochee National Forest, May 1, 1978.

171. Letter to Supervisor, Chattahoochee National Forest from resident of Young Harris, Ga., August 19, 1978.

172. letter No. 08-03-00489-30512-1-1 to Forest Service, Brasstown District, Blairsville, Ga., from resident of Blairsville, July 31, 1978.

173. "U.S. Forest Service Caught Between Interests in N.C.," *The Times*, Gainesville, Ga., January 7, 1979.

174. "SORE's Charles Hall Asks Wilderness Area Help," *Cleveland Daily Banner*, April 18, 1978; Randall Higgins, "Wilderness Mail Swamps Office Before Deadline," *The Tri-County Observer*, October 4, 1978; "Questions and Answers, Summary of Public Comment Analysis, Comments by the Secretary, Cutler, and Chief, U.S. Forest Service," 1, 25.

175. Dan Hicks, Jr., "Wildlife Resources Commission Opposes Our Dam, Scenic Highway," *Madisonville Observer*, January 17, 1979.

176. Hicks, "Wildlife Resources." The Endangered Species Act of 1973 (87 Stat. 884) provides for the protection of threatened and endangered species. Work on the dam has since resumed.

177. Frome, *Battle For the Wilderness*, p. 175. It is now a wilderness.

178. Discussion of SORE based on interviews with Russell Griffith, Bruce Jewell, and John Moser, Cherokee National Forest, Cleveland, Tenn., July 17, 18, 1979.

179, 180. "Ah, Wilderness . . . When is Enough Enough?"

181. From a photograph in the possession of Pat Thomas, Forest Supervisor, Chattahoochee National Forest, Gainesville, Ga.

182. "Clip Sheet, Southern Region, Southeastern Area," Collection of newspaper articles pertaining to fires in Region 8 national forests, April 1978, from USDA Forest Service Regional Office, Atlanta, Ga.

183. "Why Do Citizens Burn Precious Dixie Forests?" *Asheville Citizen-Times*, Asheville, N.C., April 16, 1978.

184. Ken Hoskins, "McCreary Fire Deliberately Set—by Forest Service," *Courier Journal*, Louisville, Ky., April 12, 1978.

185. Interview with Russell Griffith, Bruce Jewell, and John Moser, Cherokee National Forest, Cleveland, Tenn.

186. "Summary—Statistical Data, Forest-District-By Years," computer printout, National Forests of North Carolina, Asheville, N.C.

187. Barry King, "Wilderness Plan Facing Roadblock," *The Atlanta Journal and Constitution*, January 6, 1979.

188. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Forest Service, *Summary—Final Environmental Statement, Roadless Area Review and Evaluation*, Jnuary 1979.

189. "Group Disappointed in Recommendation," *Bristol Vir.-Tenn.*, Bristol, Tenn., January 5, 1979; "In Cherokee Forest-Wilderness Area Reaction is Mixed Locally," *Maryville Times*, Maryville, Tenn., January 5, 1979.

190. "U.S. Forest Service Caught Between Interviews in N.C.," *The Times*, Gainesville, Ga., January 7, 1979.

191. "U.S. Forest Service Caught," January 7, 1979.

192. King, "Wilderness Plan Forcing Roadblock."

193. Bruce M. Kilgore, ed., *Wilderness in a Changing World*, Proceedings of the 9th Wilderness Conference. San Francisco: Sierra Club, 1966, p. 165.

194. The Wilderness Act, Section 4(d)(3); The Eastern Wilderness Act, Section 6(a).

195. Shands and Healy, *The Lands Nobody Wanted*, p. 58-62.

196. *Mineral Prospecting in the Beaver Creek Wilderness, Final Environmental Statement*, Daniel Boone National Forest, Winchester, Ky., January 1978.

197. Livingston Taylor, "A Tale of Two Lawsuits or How U.S. Forest Can Be Strip-Mined," *Courier Journal*, Louisville, Ky., September 30, 1977.

198. Taylor, "A Tale of Two Lawsuits." See also, "Opinion—Forest Strip-mine Decision Compounds an Old Injustice," *Courier Journal*, Louisville, Ky., March 19, 1978.

199. Letter to Mr. Robert Gable, President, Stearns Coal and Lumber Company, from Forest Supervisor, Daniel Boone National Forest, January 31, 1978.

200. Letter to Forest Supervisor, Daniel Boone National Forest from Robert E. Gable, Stearns Coal and Lumber Co., February 21, 1978.

201. Recreation-Use, Wilderness Use data, on microfiche, Recreation Management Staff, USDA Forest Service, Washington, D.C.

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VII. Personal Interviews

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  July 9, 10, 1979
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    George H. (Pat) Cook
    Harold E. DeBord
    Thomas R. Frazier
    Jack S. Kelley
    Vincent H. McCormack
    Elwyn F. Peffer
    James A. Rothschild
National Forests of North Carolina, Asheville, N.C. 28802
  May 10, 11, 1979
    Richard C. Moore
    Walter W. Rule
    Frank Sharp
Headquarters, Cherokee National Forest, Cleveland, Tenn. 37311
  July 17, 18, 1979
    B. W. Chumney
    Russell F. Griffith
    Bruce Jewell
    John W. Moser
Headquarters, Daniel Boone National Forest, Winchester, Ky. 40391
  July 27, 1979
    Charles Crail
    Billie De Walt, anthropologist
    Clarence Moore
Headquarters, Chattahoochee National Forest, Gainesville, Ga. 30501
  July 11, 12, 1979
    Charles (Steve) Briggs
    Roger Frantz
    Howard R. Orr
    W. Pat Thomas
Clyne and Walter Woody. Suches, Ga., July 12, 1979
Taped Interview with J. Herbert Stone, Forest Service, Southern Region, History Program, November 22, 1978

VIII. Telephone Interviews

Charles Blankenship, Jefferson National Forest, Roanoke, Va. 24001, February 19, 1981.

William Clark, Southern Regional Office, Forest Service, Atlanta, Ga. 30309, February 20, 1982, and January 28, 1982.

Charles Cushman, National Inholders Association, Sonoma, Calif., March 6, 1981.

Philip Etchison, Southern Regional Office, Forest Service, Atlanta, Ga. 30309, September 15, 1981.

Charles Hooper, Army Corps of Engineers, March 13, 1981.

Charles Huppuch, Southern Regional Office, Forest Service, Atlanta, Ga. 30309, February 17, 1981.

Roger Miller, Supervisor's Staff, Great Smoky Mountains National Park, Gatlinburg, Tenn., November 11, 1979, and February 18, 1982.

Office of County Manager, Ashe County, Jefferson, N.C., February 19, 1981.

Office of Tax Commissioner, Union County, Blairsville, Ga., January, 1981.

Lawrence Pierce, Citizens for Southwest Virginia, Troutdale, Va., February 25, 1981.

Robert Reynolds, Daniel Boone National Forest, Winchester, Ky. 40391, March 13, 1981.

Walter Rule, National Forests of North Carolina, Asheville, N.C. 28002, September 19, 1979.

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Neil Walp, Appalachian Regional Commission, Washington, D.C., December 11, 1979.

IX. Records of the National Archives

National Archives Building, Washington, D.C. 20408
Record Group 35 — Records of the Civilian Conservation Corps

Record Group 64 — Records of the Regional Offices of the National Resources Planning Board

Record Group 83 — Records of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics

Record Group 95 — Records of the Forest Service

Record Group 96 — Records of the Farm Security Administration

Record Group 409 — Records of the Public Land Law Review Commission

Washington National Records Center, Suitland, Maryland 20409

Forest Service Records, Accession Numbers:
- 58 A 64
- 59 A 1532
- 59 A 1753
- 60 A 851
- 60 A 931
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Gennett Lumber Company, Papers. Manuscript Division, Perkins Library, Duke University, Durham, N.C. 27706.

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XI. Files, Tables and Computerized Data

ARC Funds by County. Provided by Joe Cerniglia, Appalachian Regional Commission, Washington, D.C.

Basic Information Sheets, 5400-21. Lands, National Forests of North Carolina, Asheville, N.C.

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Recreation-Use Data. Recreation Management Staff, Forest Service, Washington, D.C.

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